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THE STUDENT'S HUME.

A

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE TREATY OF BERLIN
IN 1878.

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED.

BY J. S. BREWER, M.A.,

LATE OF THE RECORD OFFICE, AND PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY AND
ENGLISH LITERATURE, KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

IN THREE PARTS.

PART I.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III.
B.C. 55—A.D. 1485.

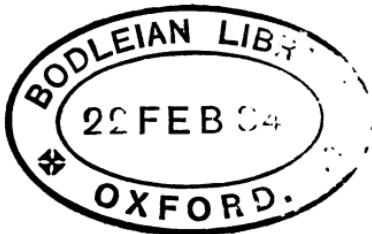
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NOTICE.

THE STUDENT'S HUME is issued in its present form, at the request of several teachers, who read with their classes separate portions of English History, and do not require the whole work. The issue is in three parts. The First Part contains the history from the earliest times to the death of Richard III.; the Second Part the Tudor and Stuart periods, from the accession of Henry VII. to the Revolution of 1688; the Third Part the remaining history from the Revolution of 1688 to the Treaty of Berlin in 1878.

The Table of Contents gives a full analysis of each Part, and has been so arranged that the Teacher can frame from it questions for the examination of his class, the answers to which will be found in the corresponding pages of the volume.

The Work can be obtained in a complete form, strongly bound, with a copious index, price 7s. 6d., or in three divisions, price 2s. 6d. each :

PART I.—FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III. B.C. 55—A.D. 1485.

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PART III.—FROM THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 TO THE TREATY OF BERLIN, 1878.

P R E F A C E.

THE STUDENT'S HUME was originally published in 1858. Its object was to supply a long-acknowledged want in our School and College Literature—a STUDENT'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND in a volume of moderate size, free from sectarian and party prejudice, containing the results of the researches of the best modern historians, tracing more particularly the development of the Constitution, and bringing out prominently the characters and actions of the great men of our country. That this object has been attained is attested by the approval the Work has received from those most competent to express an opinion upon the subject, by its continued use in many of our best Public Schools and Colleges, and by the very great and constant demand for new editions of the book. But the progress of events, and the publication of many important historical documents, public and private, previously unknown, induced the Editor to subject the Work to a thorough revision; and, in order to render the book as perfect as possible, he called to his aid the late PROFESSOR BREWER, who, possessing an unrivalled knowledge of *all* periods of English History, was, perhaps, the highest authority upon the subject in the present day. He bestowed unwearied pains upon the revision of the Work, and left it ready for publication a

few weeks before his lamented death. A short time previously, he gave, in a private letter written to the Editor, the following account of his labours and the principles which guided him in the revision. The italics are Mr. Brewer's.

"I have brought," he says, "the Work down to the Treaty of Berlin, of course with the brevity compatible with your wish that the Work should not exceed its original dimensions. On the whole, I think it is the most handy and complete Manual of English History which exists for Schools,—and experience will prove it to be so. To keep the Work to its title and its size, to introduce the corrections necessitated by the progress of original research, to remove positive misstatements, has required no small amount of care and judgment. But I have been guided, to the best of my ability, by historical truth, by the investigations of *recent trustworthy* historians, by the wants of the student, and by my own researches, now of some years' standing. In the most anxious of all periods—that of the seventeenth century—I have been guided by Ranke and Rawson Gardiner, whose authority is not only the highest for that period, but to my mind—and I *know* what I am saying—is now the *only* authority worth regarding. The research, the industry, the accuracy, the candour of Rawson Gardiner are unquestionable, though he is in politics and religion inclined to the Parliament strongly, and has no liking for the Stuarts; but his more equitable way of considering the great controversies of the times must eventually prevail against the less careful statements and the prejudices of Brodie, Macaulay, Forster, and others I need not name.

"The popularity of the Work must depend on its merits

for accuracy and ability, and its sufficiency as a good Manual. Competitive examinations have entirely put it out of any schoolmaster's power to exclude a thoroughly good History from his schoolroom, because he may have a sentimental dislike to some of its statements. I am fully convinced that the road to success is by careful investigations and temperate narrative, showing the reader that there is another side to the question than that which some recent writers have presented.

"Wherever there was *fair* evidence for Hume's statements, I have retained them, and still more frequently Hume's estimate of motives and characters, *when he had the facts* before him, because, though not entirely free from prejudice, he had excellent good sense and sound judgment."

The present History, unlike some others of the same class, gives as full an account of Celtic and Roman Britain as the limits of the work would allow. Mr. Brewer strongly disapproved of the modern fashion of ignoring the Roman occupation of Great Britain, and starting at once from the Anglo-Saxon invasion. He pointed out, in an article which he wrote in the *Quarterly Review*,* that the Celtic and Roman occupation of the island was closely connected with its subsequent history; that the Saxon Conquest, though a change of the highest moment, did not break up society; and that the Saxon State was built upon the ruins of the past.

As much prominence as possible is given in the present Work to the rise and progress of the Constitution; but in order to economize space, and at the same time not interrupt the narrative, much important information upon

* See *Quarterly Review*, vol. 141, p. 295, seqq.

this subject is inserted in a smaller type in the "Notes and Illustrations," where the student will find an account of the "government, laws, and institutions of the Anglo-Saxons," of the "Anglo-Norman Constitution," of the "origin and progress of Parliament," and of other matters of a similar kind. Several constitutional documents, such as the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights, are printed at length. These Notes and Illustrations, which contain discussions on various other historical and antiquarian subjects, have been drawn up mainly with the view of assisting the student in further enquiries; and with the same object a copious list of authorities is appended.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.



Stonehenge.

BOOK I.

THE BRITONS, ROMANS, AND ANGLO-SAXONS.

B.C. 55—A.D. 1066.

CHAPTER I.

THE BRITONS AND ROMANS.

- § 1. Earliest notices of Britain. § 2. The earliest inhabitants of Britain were Celts of the Cymric stock. § 3. Religion of the Britons. § 4. Knights and bards. § 5. Manners and customs of the Britons. § 6. British tribes. § 7. Cæsar's two invasions of Britain. § 8. History till the invasion of Claudioius. § 9. Caractacus. § 10. Conquest of Mona; Boadicea. § 11. Agricola. § 12. The Roman walls between the Solway and the Tyne, and between the Clyde and the Forth. § 13. Saxon pirates; Carausius. § 14. Picts and Scots. Departure of the Romans. § 15. Appear to Aëtius. *Groans of the Britons.* The Saxons called in. § 16. Condition of Britain under the Romans. § 17. Christianity in Britain.

ENGLAND.—PT. I.

§ 1. THE south-western coasts of Britain were probably known to the Phœnician merchants several centuries before the Christian era. The Phœnician colonists of Tartessus and Gades in Spain, and especially of Carthage, were attracted to the shores of Britain by its abundant supply of tin, a metal of great importance in antiquity from the extensive use of bronze for the manufacture of weapons of war and implements of peace. It would seem that this metal was originally obtained from India, since the Grecian name for tin is of Indian origin, and must have been brought into Greece, together with the article itself.* Accordingly, when the voyagers obtained tin in Cornwall and Devon, whose high and indented shores might easily be mistaken for islands, these parts were called the Cassiterides or the Tin-islands, a name by which they were known to Herodotus † in the fifth century before the Christian era. Later writers mention the Britannic Islands as Albion and Ierne‡ including in the former England and Scotland, in the latter Ireland. The origin of the word Britain is disputed,§ but that of Albion is perhaps derived from a Celtic word signifying "white," a name probably given to the island by the Gauls, who could not fail to be struck with the chalky cliffs of the opposite coast.

In addition to the Phœnician merchants, the Greek colonists of Massalia (Marseilles) and Narbo (Narbonne) carried on a trade at a very early period with the southern parts of Britain, by making overland journeys to the northern coast of Gaul. The principal British exports seem to have been tin, lead, skins, slaves, and hunting-dogs employed by the Celts in war. When the Britons became more civilized, corn and cattle, gold, silver, and iron, and an inferior kind of pearl, were added to the list. An interesting account of the British tin-trade is given by Diodorus Siculus, a contemporary of Julius Cæsar.|| Diodorus relates that the inhabitants near the promontory of Belerium (Land's End), after the tin was formed into cubical blocks, conveyed it in waggons to an island named Ictis (supposed to be St. Michael's Mount), since at low tides the space between that island and Britain became dry. At Ictis the tin was purchased by the merchants and carried over to Gaul.

§ 2. The fabulous tale of the colonization of the island by Brut the Trojan, the great grandson of Æneas, deserves no other attention beyond the influence it has exercised on English literature. It

* The Greek name for tin is *Kassiteros* (*κασσιτερος*), which evidently comes from the Sanscrit *kastira*.

† ill. 115.

‡ The native name of Ireland seems to have been *Eri*, or *Erin*, as to this day. It

is also called *Iris*, *Ierna*, and *Hibernia*. § It is probably from a Celtic word, *briht* or *brit*, "painted," because the inhabitants stained their bodies with a blue colour extracted from woad.

|| v. 22.

has no claim to be admitted even as a traditional element in the history of Britain. There can be no doubt that the inhabitants of Britain, when it was first known, were Celts, who peopled the island from the neighbouring continent. The Celts were divided into two great branches, the Gael and the Cymry, the former of whom now inhabit Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, and the latter the principality of Wales. It has been thought by some that traces of an earlier Gaelic population might be found in parts of England, Wales, and the Scottish lowlands; but the more cautious of modern enquirers are inclined to believe that the great mass of the Britons, like the Gauls of the continent, were Cymry,* and that the Welsh are descended from the ancient inhabitants. In proof of this it may be sufficient to mention that most of the Celtic words which still exist in the English language are clearly to be referred to the Cymric and not to the Gaelic dialect.

The Gallic origin of the ancient Britons is expressly affirmed by Caesar, who says† that the maritime parts of the island were inhabited by Belgic Gauls, who had crossed over from the mainland for the sake of plunder. The language, the manners, the government, the religion of both were the same; and many tribes in Britain and Belgic Gaul had similar names. But the inhabitants of the interior, he adds, were indigenous, according to tradition; from which we can only infer that the earlier immigrations of the Celts took place long before the memory of man; and that the less civilized tribes had been driven inland before the Belgic invaders. Tacitus, who derived his information from his father-in-law Agricola, supposed‡ that the red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians indicated a Germanic origin; and that the dark complexion of the Silures, their curly hair, and their position opposite to Spain, furnished grounds for believing that they were descended from Iberian settlers from that country. But these are evidently mere conjectures, to which Tacitus himself seems to have attached little importance, for he adds that upon a careful estimate of probabilities we must believe that it was the Gauls who took possession of the neighbouring coast.§

§ 3. The connection of the Britons with the Celts of Gaul is further shown by their common religion. Caesar, indeed, was of opinion that Druidism had its origin in Britain, and was transplanted thence into Gaul; and it is certain that in his time Britain was the chief

* This is the plural of the Welsh *Cymra*; and the country of Wales is called *Cymru* (a federation), Latinized into *Cambria*.

† Bell. Gall. v. 12. Belgic Gaul was the region between the Rhine, the Seine, and the Marne. Its people, the *Belgæ*, were

a superior race to the *Galli*: between the Seine, the Marne, and the Loire.

‡ Agricol. c. 11.

§ The question of an Iberian, or Basque, settlement in the south-west is still open to discussion

seat of the religion and the principal school where it was taught. But this circumstance only shows that the common faith of the Celt had been preserved in its greatest purity by the remotest and most ancient tribes, who had been driven by the tide of emigration into this island.

The religion of the Britons was a most important part of their government, and the Druids, who were their priests, possessed great authority among them. Besides ministering at the altar and directing all religious duties, they presided over the education of the youth; they enjoyed immunity from war and taxes; they possessed both civil and criminal jurisdiction; they decided all controversies between states as well as among private persons, and whoever refused to submit to their decrees was subjected to the severest penalties. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the offender; he was forbidden access to the sacrifices or public worship; he was debarred all intercourse with his fellow-citizens; he was refused the protection of the law; and death itself became an acceptable relief from the misery and infamy to which he was exposed. Thus the bonds of government, which were naturally loose among so rude and turbulent a people, were strengthened by the terrors of religion.

No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Besides the severe penalties which it was in the power of the priests to inflict in this world, they are said to have inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls. They practised their rites in dark groves or other secret recesses. To throw a greater mystery over their religion, they communicated their doctrines to the initiated only, and strictly forbade them to be committed to writing. In the ordinary concerns of life, however, when writing was necessary, they employed Greek characters or a sort of hieroglyphics formed from the figures of plants. Of the nature of their rites, except their veneration for the oak and the mistletoe, little is known. When a mistletoe was discovered growing upon an oak, a priest severed it with a golden knife; on which occasion a festival was held under the tree, and two milk-white bulls were offered in sacrifice. The Druids worshipped a plurality of gods, to whom Caesar, after the Roman fashion, applies the names of the deities of his own country. The attributes of the god chiefly worshipped among them appear to have resembled those of Mercury.*

* The stupendous ruins of Stonehenge, situated in Salisbury Plain, and of Avebury, in Wiltshire, were formerly supposed to be the remains of Druidical temples, but they are not mentioned by any ancient writer. It is quite uncertain

to what age we should refer these and other rude stone monuments of the pre-historic Britons, such as the *cromlechs*, which were once called Druidical altars, but are now proved to have been tombs. In the compound word *Stone-henges* the latter

They inculcated reverence for law and fortitude under suffering. They taught their disciples to observe the stars and to investigate the secret powers of nature. A term of twenty years was commonly devoted to the acquisition of the knowledge which they imparted. They chose their own high-priest, but the election was not unfrequently decided by arms.

In some countries, human sacrifices formed one of the most sanguinary features of Druidical worship. The victims were generally criminals, or prisoners of war, but, in default of these, innocent persons were sometimes immolated; and in the larger sacrifices immense figures made of plaited osiers were filled with human beings and then set on fire. The spoils of war were often devoted by the Druids to their divinities; and they punished with horrible tortures all those who dared to secrete any portion of the consecrated offering. These treasures, kept in woods and forests, were secured by no other guard than the terrors of religion; and this conquest over human cupidity may be regarded as more extraordinary than any acts of courage and self-devotion to which men were prompted by their exhortations. No idolatrous worship ever obtained such an ascendancy over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, finding it impossible after their conquest to reconcile these nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, so long as Druidism maintained its authority, were at last obliged to abolish it by military force; a violence which had never in any other instance been practised by these tolerating conquerors.

§ 4. The British bards were a sacred order next to the Druids. They sung the genealogies of their princes, and composed lyric as well as epic and didactic poetry, accompanying their songs with an instrument called the *chrotta* or *crowder*. Next to the Druids, the chief authority was possessed by their chieftains, or heads of their clans—the *equites*, as Cæsar calls them.*

§ 5. Already, before the arrival of Cæsar, the south-eastern parts of Britain had made the first and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and the Belgic Britons, by tillage and agriculture, had greatly increased. Other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture: they were clothed with skins of beasts: they dwelt in round huts constructed of wood or reeds, reared in the forests and marshes with which the country abounded. They easily shifted their habitations, actuated either by

half, *henge*, probably signifies the impost, which is suspended on two uprights, and consequently the word might be used in any case in which one stone was sus-

pended on two or more others.—Guest, in *Proceedings of Philological Society*, vol. vi. p. 33.

* De Bell. Gall. vi. 13-17

the hopes of plunder or the fear of an enemy. Even the convenience of feeding their cattle was a sufficient motive for removing; and as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their possessions were equally scanty and limited.

The Britons tattooed their bodies, staining them blue and green with woad, as a sort of "war-paint;" a custom long retained by the Picts. They wore checkered mantles like the Gaul or Scottish Highlander; their waists were circled with a girdle, and metal chains adorned the breast. The hair and moustache were suffered to grow, and a ring was worn on the middle finger, after the fashion of the Gauls. Their arms were a small shield, javelins, and a pointless sword. They fought from chariots (*essēda, covīne*) having scythes affixed to the axles. The warrior drove the chariot, and was attended by a servant who carried his weapons. The dexterity of the driver excited the admiration of the Romans. He would urge his horses at full speed down the steepest hills or along the edge of a precipice, and check and turn them in full career. Sometimes he would run along the pole, or seat himself on the yoke, and instantly, if necessary, regain the chariot. Frequently after breaking the enemy's ranks he would leap down and fight on foot; meanwhile the chariot was withdrawn from the fray, and posted in such a manner as to afford a secure retreat in case of need. Thus the Britons were enabled to combine the rapid evolutions of cavalry with the steady firmness of infantry. Caesar describes the British towns as mere clusters of huts, defended by their position in the centre of almost impenetrable forests. They were secured by a deep ditch, and a fence or wall of felled trees.*

§ 6. The Britons were divided into many small nations or tribes. As their chief property consisted in their arms and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish for liberty, for their princes or chieftains to establish despotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical, were free, like those of other Celtic nations; and the common people seem to have enjoyed more freedom than among the nations of Gaul from whom they were descended. Each state was divided into factions: it was agitated with jealousy or animosity against its neighbour: and while the arts of peace were yet unknown, war was the main occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition, among the people.†

* But Caesar's observation was limited, and British earthworks, enclosing permanent habitations, are found in open situations, and especially on hill-tops.

† The British tribes with whom the Romans became acquainted by Caesar's

invasion were mainly the following:—
1. The *Cantii*, under four princes, inhabited Kent. They derived their name from the Celtic *Caint*, or open country.

2. The *Trinobantes* were seated to the north of the Thames, and between that

§ 7. At the close of the fourth campaign in his Gallic wars, CÆSAR invaded Britain with two legions in the end of August, B.C. 55. Aware of his intention, the natives were sensible of the unequal contest, and endeavoured in vain to appease him by submission. After some resistance, he landed, with two legions (about 8000 men), either at or near Deal,* obtained some advantage over the Britons, obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, but was constrained by the necessity of his affairs and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. Relieved from the terror of his arms, the Britons neglected the performance of their stipulations; and Cæsar resolved next summer (B.C. 54) to chastise them for their perfidy. He landed unopposed, apparently at the same spot, with five legions, numbering above 20,000 men; and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who were now united under Cassivelaunus,† one of their petty princes, he discomfited them in every action. Advancing into the country, he passed the Thames in the face of the enemy at a ford, probably Cowey Stakes, just above Walton, in spite of the piles which the Britons had driven into the bed of the river.‡ The valiant defence of Cassivellaunus was frustrated by the submission of the Trinobantes and other tribes. Cæsar took and burned the forest fortress at Verulamium, the modern St. Albans; restored his own ally, Mandubratius, to the sovereignty of the Trinobantes; and having compelled the inhabitants to fresh submission, he returned with his army into Gaul.

§ 8. The civil wars which ensued prepared the way for the establishment of imperialism in Rome, and saved the Britons from the impending yoke. Augustus was content with levying duties on British commerce in the ports of Gaul, and with embassies sent from the island. Apprehensive lest the same unlimited extent of dominion, which had subverted the republic, might also overwhelm the empire, he recommended his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made the advice of Augustus a pretext for inactivity. Almost a century elapsed before another Roman force appeared in Britain; but the natives during this

river and the Stour, in the present counties of Middlesex and Essex.

3. The *Cenimagni*, perhaps the same as the Iceni of Tacitus, dwelt in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire.

4. The *Segontiaci* inhabited parts of Hants and Berks.

5. The *Ancalites* and *Bibroci* inhabited parts of Berks and Wilts.

6. The *Cassii* appear to have been the

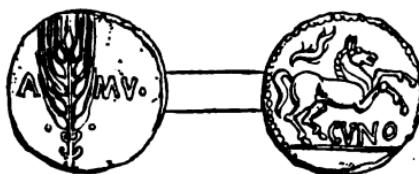
tribe of which Cassivelaunus was the chief, and the same as the *Catuvellauni* in Herts, with their capital at Verulamium.

* See Notes and Illustrations (A).

† Later Welsh writers call him *Caswallon*.

‡ The historian Bede mentions the remains of these piles as existing in his own time, in the eighth century.

period kept up an intercourse with Rome. By this means, as well as from their commerce with Gaul, where the Roman power had been completely established, they derived some tincture of Roman civilization; and the coins of Cunobelin, the Cymbeline of



Gold Coin of Cunobelin or Cunobelinus.
Obverse: (c)AMV (Camulodunum); ear of corn.
Reverse: CVNO (Cunobelinus); horse to right.

Britain with invasion, served only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule. At length a British exile named Bericus instigated the emperor CLAUDIOCUS to undertake the reduction of the island, and AULUS PLAUTIUS was despatched thither (A.D. 43) at the head of four legions, augmented with Gallic auxiliaries. He marched through the southern counties to the Thames, which he crossed, probably at Wallingford, gaining a great battle over the sons of Cunobelin, and pursued the Britons to the marshes about London.† Claudioius himself, finding matters sufficiently prepared for his reception, took a journey into Britain and received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, who were induced by their possessions and more cultivated manner of life to purchase peace at the expense of liberty. Claudioius took the city of Camulodunum (*Colchester*), where a colony of veterans was subsequently established; and the south-eastern parts of Britain were formed into a Roman province.‡ In this invasion Vespasian, the future emperor, distinguished himself, and at the head of the Second Legion fought thirty battles, stormed twenty towns, and subdued the Isle of Wight.

§ 9. The other Britons, under the command of Caractacus, a son of Cunobelin, still maintained an obstinate resistance, and the

* There are many other coins, inscribed with names of British princes, furnishing materials for a conjectural account of the political state of various tribes. Others, the rudeness of which shows native workmanship, confirm Caesar's statement that the Britons used money before his invasion. (*Bell. Gall.* v. 12, where *nummo aureo* is the genuine reading.) Their types, borrowed from Greek coins, seem to prove that the art was derived from the Greek colonies

in Southern Gaul.—See Evans's *Ancient British Coins*.

† There is some reason to suppose that London (*Londinium*, "the hill of the marsh") had its origin from the camp which Claudioius pitched on the high ground of the present city, which then rose above the marshes formed by the unembanked Thames.

‡ Of course the emperor claimed all Britain as belonging to this province.

Romans now made little progress till OSTORIUS SCAPULA was sent over (A.D. 50). Under SCAPULA a line of Roman camps was drawn across the island, from the Severn to the marshes of the Nen. The Iceni* were reduced after a desperate and brilliant struggle; the league of the Brigantes† was surprised and dispersed by the rapid march of the Roman general, and the Roman eagles dominated over the greater part of Britain. But the Silures and Ordovices‡ still held out, and it was not till after nine years of warfare that the camp of Caractacus was stormed, and his residence was captured by the Romans, and with it his wife and family.§ Caractacus himself sought shelter at the court of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, whom he had formerly befriended, but by whom he was treacherously surrendered to the conquerors (A.D. 50). He was conveyed to Rome, where his magnanimous behaviour procured him better treatment than the Romans usually bestowed on captive princes. But even after the capture of their leader the Silures still held out, and offered so determined a resistance that Ostorius is said to have died of vexation.

§ 10. The Romans did little towards the further subjugation of the island till the appointment of SUETONIUS PAULINUS, in the reign of Nero, A.D. 58. After three years of successful warfare, he resolved on reducing the island of Mona, or Anglesey, the chief seat of the Druids, which afforded a shelter to the disaffected Britons. The infantry crossed the strait in shallow vessels, taking the cavalry in tow where the water was too deep to afford a footing for the horses. The Britons endeavoured to obstruct their landing by force of arms and the terrors of religion. Women intermingled with the soldiers ran up and down with flaming torches in their hands, and, tossing their dishevelled hair, struck no less terror into the astonished Romans by their howlings and their cries, than did the solemn array of the Druids, with uplifted arms, uttering prayers and imprecations on the invaders. But Suetonius, exhorting his troops to disregard the menaces of a superstition they despised, impelled them to the attack, drove the Britons off the field, burned the Druids in the fires they had prepared for their enemies, destroyed the consecrated groves and altars; and having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, he thought his future progress would be easy in reducing the people to subjection. But the Britons, taking advantage of his absence, rose in arms; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, whose daughters had been

* Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire.

† Between the Humber and the Tyne.

‡ The Silures inhabited South Wales; the Ordovices North Wales.

§ Perhaps Caer Caradoc, situated on a hill in Shropshire near the confluence of the Clun and Teme.

defiled and herself scourged with rods by the Roman tribunes, sacked and burnt Camulodunum, the colony of their insulting conquerors. Suetonius hastened to the protection of London, already a flourishing commercial town ; but found on his arrival that it would be requisite for the general safety to abandon the city to the merciless fury of the enemy. London was reduced to ashes ; such of the inhabitants as remained in it were cruelly massacred ; the Romans and all other strangers were put to the sword without distinction. The same fate befel Verulamium. No less than 70,000 persons suffered death, with cruel tortures, in the sack of the three cities ; and the Britons, by rendering the war thus bloody, seemed determined to cut off all hopes of peace or composition with the enemy. This cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle (A.D. 61), where 80,000 of the Britons are said to have perished. Boudicea herself, rather than fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her life by poison. Suetonius was recalled soon after.

§ 11. After a brief interval Cerialis received the command from Vespasian (A.D. 70), and by his bravery propagated the terror of the Roman arms. Julius Frontinus succeeded Cerialis both in authority and reputation ; but the man who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island was JULIUS AGRICOLA, who governed it seven years (A.D. 78-85), in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

This able general formed a regular plan for subjugating Britain, and rendering its acquisition useful to the conquerors. After subduing the Ordovices, and again reducing Mona, which had revolted, he carried his victorious arms northwards. In the third year of his government he marched far into Caledonia, the region now called Scotland ; and in the following year he erected a line of fortresses between the firths of the Clyde and the Forth. He extended his conquests along the western shores of Britain, and even meditated an expedition into Ireland. In the sixth and seventh years of his administration he made two incursions into Caledonia, in the latter of which he gained a great and decisive victory over the inhabitants under their leader Galgacus, at the foot of the highland hills.* During the last year of his government his fleet took possession of the Orkneys, and confirmed the opinion that Britain was an island.

But whilst occupied with these military enterprises he neglected not the refinements of peace. He introduced laws and civilization

* The place of the battle is unknown. | geography ; but, at the revival of learning, The *Mons Grampius* (or, as the best MSS. have it, *Groupius*) of Tacitus has no | the name was transferred from the pages of *Tacitus* to the range now called the Grampians.

among the Britons, taught them the arts and conveniences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render the chains which he had forged for them both easy and agreeable. Taught by experience how unequal their own force was to resist the Romans, the inhabitants gradually acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were incorporated into that mighty empire.

§ 12. This was the last durable conquest made by the Romans; and Britain, once subdued, gave no further disquietude to the victor. The Caledonians alone, defended by barren mountains, sometimes infested the more cultivated parts of the northern frontiers. To repel their attacks, Hadrian, who visited this island (A.D. 120), built a stone wall and an earthen rampart between the river Tyne and the Solway Firth, called the Roman or Picts' Wall, of which considerable remains still exist.* Lollius Urbicus (A.D. 139), under Antoninus Pius, erected another rampart of earth between the firth of Forth and Alcluith (Dunbarton) on the Clyde, called the Wall of Antoninus, and now known by the name of *Græme's Dyke*. But these fortifications did not prove adequate to check the incursions of the Caledonians and *Mæsatæ*,† who at length became so formidable, that the proprætor, Virius Lupus, was not only obliged to buy off their attacks, but even to solicit the presence of the aged emperor SEVERUS himself. Severus came accordingly, attended by his two sons, Caracalla and Geta (A.D. 208); and, although he was so afflicted with the gout that it was necessary to carry him in a litter, he proceeded through an almost impassable country to the extremity of the island, with the loss of 50,000 men. Having made a treaty at the frith of Cromarty with the natives, by which they agreed to cede a considerable portion of their territory, he returned to York, where he shortly afterwards expired, A.D. 211. Immediately after his death, his son Caracalla, eager to grasp the empire, entered into a truce with the northern tribes, and hastened back to Rome.

§ 13. Except, however, on its northern frontier, Britain under the Roman dominion enjoyed profound tranquillity, till in the third century of our era it began to be disturbed by new enemies. These were the Frank and Saxon pirates, whose descents upon the eastern and southern coasts at last became so troublesome, that the western emperor, Maximian, fitted out a fleet at Boulogne for its defence (A.D. 286 ‡). But his commander, Carausius, fortifying the great

* See Notes and Illustrations (B).

† All the Britons north of the Roman frontier were called by the collective name of *Caledonians*. The *Mæsatæ* seem

to have been the people between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus.

‡ A century later we find this coast, from the Wash to Sussex, defended by a

power with which he was thus invested by an alliance with the Saxons themselves, asserted his own supremacy in Britain, and thus compelled Maximian to acknowledge him as his associate in the empire. In 294 Carausius was assassinated by his own officer Allectus, who in turn usurped the imperial title and retained it till 296, when he was defeated by the army which Constantius Chlorus led against him. Constantius Chlorus died at York, in 306, where his son, Constantine the Great, assumed the title of Cæsar.

§ 14. In the early times of the Roman dominion in Britain, the northern parts of the island were inhabited by the Caledonians and Maeatae, but in the beginning of the fourth century these names were supplanted by the Picts and Scots, wild and savage tribes, whose destructive inroads were long a terror to the civilized inhabitants of Britain. The name of Picts (*Picti*, i.e. painted) appears to have been only a new Latin term for those ancient Caledonian tribes who preserved their independence under the Romans, and maintained possession of the northern parts of the island till the later invasion of the Irish Scots.* All ancient writers agree in representing Ireland as the proper home of the Scots; and for several centuries that island bore the name of Scotia. The Scots who invaded Roman Britain appear to have made their inroads by sea on the north-western shores, having perhaps established themselves on parts of the Caledonian coast and the adjacent islands.

In the year 367, under the reign of Valentinian I., the Scots and Picts, from the west and north, and the Frank and Saxon pirates, landing on the south-eastern shores, overran the Roman province, and penetrated as far as London. They were repulsed the next year by Theodosius, father of the emperor of the same name. Theodosius recovered the district between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, which he named Valentia, in honour of his master. Under his son, Theodosius I., Maximus, having gained great reputation in fighting against the Picts and Scots, was saluted emperor by his soldiers, established a Western Roman empire at Trèves, and was even acknowledged by Theodosius. He was taken prisoner at Aquileia and put to death, A.D. 388.†

But this enterprise helped to weaken Britain, while she began to be more and more infested by the Picts, Scots, and Saxons. Stilicho, the general of Honorius, afforded temporary succour in 396; but soon afterwards, Gaul being already overrun by the Alani,

line of castles, garrisoned by a legion under a commander called "Count of the Saxon Shore" or "Border," that is, the coast exposed to the Saxon descents.— See Notes and Illustrations (C).

* See Notes and Illustrations (D).

† The legend that under Maximus a colony of British warriors established itself in Armorica (Brittany) is a mere fable.

Suevi, and Vandals, he withdrew one legion from Britain,* and the two that remained appear to have been led out of the island by one of those rebellious officers, who successively assumed the title of emperor. The year in which Rome was sacked by the Goths, under Alaric, marks also her final loss of Britain (A.D. 410).

§ 15. The incursions of the northern barbarians were now renewed,† and in 443 the unhappy Britons made a last appeal to Rome. Aëtius the patrician sustained at that time, by his valour and magnanimity, the tottering ruins of the empire, and revived for a moment among the degenerate Romans the spirit, as well as the discipline, of their ancestors. The British ambassadors carried to him the letter of their countrymen, which was inscribed, *The Groans of the Britons*. The tenor of the epistle was suitable to its superscription. "The barbarians," say they, "on the one hand chase us into the sea; the sea on the other throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves." But Aëtius, pressed by the arms of Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever assailed the empire, had no leisure to attend to the complaints of allies whom generosity alone could induce him to assist. After forty years of confusion, under the name of independence, the despairing Britons, guided, it is said, by the counsels of Vortigern, a powerful prince in the south of Britain, and by the example of the Armoricans, resolved on calling in the aid of the piratical Saxons, and thus repelling the Picts and Scots by means of tribes as barbarous as those by whom they were molested (A.D. 449 or 450).

§ 16. Under the Roman dominion‡ Britain had attained to great prosperity. Agriculture was carried to such a pitch, that the island not only fed itself, but large quantities of grain were also exported to the northern provinces of the empire. Its builders and artisans were in request upon the continent. The country was traversed by four excellent roads, constructed by the Romans, probably on the lines of older British roadways. These were Watling Street, leading from the Kentish coast at Rutupiæ to London, and thence into Wales, and, by another branch, to the Wall, and beyond it into Caledonia; Ikenild or Ryknild Street, proceeding

* The XXth Legion doubtless, which does not appear in the *Notitia*.

† The story of the "Alleluia victory," so called because a party of Picts, Scots, and Saxons fled without a blow when St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and his priests raised the cry of "Alleluia" (A.D. 429), seems to be a legendary addition to the simple fact that St. Germanus visited

the island to repress the Pelagian heresy. He came again for the same purpose in 446, and he may on his return have been the bearer of the supplication to Aëtius, for we know that he died at Ravenna (the place where Valentinian III. held his court) in 448.

‡ See Notes and Illustrations (E).

from the Wall at the mouth of the Tyne, through York, Derby, and Birmingham, to St. David's; Irmin or Hermin Street, running from St. David's to Southampton; and the Fossway, between Cornwall and Lincoln; besides a network of minor roads. Roman civilization in Britain was more complete than is commonly supposed, though its traces are now few, in comparison with those of other provinces. Bede, and before him, Gildas, speak of the Roman towns, lighthouses, roads, and bridges, as existing in their times. Many remains of Roman buildings were visible in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which have since disappeared. London, York, Chichester, Chester, and Lincoln retain portions of Roman walls; the amphitheatres of Dorchester, Cirencester, and Silchester are still visible. The remote Caerleon on the Usk (*Isca Silurum*), as well as Bath, had their theatres, temples, and palaces. The grand remains of walls at Burgh Castle (Norfolk), Richborough, Lymne (*Portus Lemanis*), and Pevensey, attest the strength of the Roman castles on the Saxon coast. Even now, in London and other places once occupied by the Romans, if the spade of the workman penetrates to an unusual depth below the soil, fragments of pottery, tessellated pavements, and other objects, are frequently discovered, which testify the presence of its former owners. So when the Angles and Saxons established themselves in Britain, they must have dwelt among Roman remains, and gazed with wonder on the magnificent trophies of Roman art.

At the same time, it must be remembered that the Roman occupation of Britain was chiefly military, and that the country was never completely Romanized like the provinces of Gaul and Spain. The natives living at a distance from the towns continued to speak their own language; the number of Latin words which have found a permanent place in the Welsh language is comparatively small; and almost the only traces of the Roman occupation, existing in modern English, are confined to the word or termination *chester*, *caster*, &c. (from *castra*, "camp"), which appears in Caistor (near Norwich), Manchester, Lancaster, &c.; to *coln* (*colonia*), which is found in Colchester and Lincoln; to *foss* (*fossa*, "ditch"), in the Fossway and Foston; and to the two words *street*, from *stratum* or *strata*, and *port*, from *portus*, "harbour."* The condition of England under the Romans has been well compared by a modern writer to that of Ireland as it existed under English rule in the 17th century. "The towns were entirely peopled by the conquerors: they alone

* All these elements mark military occupation. *Wall*, found in the names of places near Roman fortifications, comes probably from *vallum*, but it has also an English root. *Port* appears also in names, as *Port-chester*; and *port* (for *porta*, gate) is used in some cities, as for the gates of Edinburgh.

were capable of holding municipal privileges or power: and the country was covered with the houses of gentry and landholders, who were all descended either from the old conquerors or new settlers. The peasantry only were British—that class who were in ancient times equally slaves under one race of rulers or another, and who were only spurred into insurrection by political agitators or by foreign invasions. Still, as in Ireland, the peasantry, having no attachment to their lords, were easily excited to revolt; and a successful inroad of the Caledonians would always be attended by a corresponding agitation among the Britons.” *

§ 17. Christianity was introduced into Britain at an early period; in all probability, however, not through Rome, but from the East, by means of the Mediterranean commerce carried on through Gaul. It is known that the latter country had numerous Christian congregations in the second century. Tradition ascribes the adoption of Christianity in Britain to a prince Lucius, or Lever Maur (the Great Light), who flourished some time in the latter half of the second century. Under Diocletian, Britain reckons the martyrdom of St. Alban at Verulam, and of Aaron and Julius, two citizens of Caerleon on the Usk. This “city of legions” (*Civitas Legionum*) and the commercial and military capitals of London and York (*Eboracum*) are named as the three archiepiscopal sees of Britain. At the first council of Arles, in 314, three British bishops appeared, namely, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius, probably of Caerleon. In the observance of Easter Day the British differed from the Romish and followed the Eastern church. The monastery of Bangor, near Chester, was founded at an early period: its name (*ban gor*, or “the great choir”) was a generic one for a monastery, and thus we find more than one Bangor in Britain. Some of the British ecclesiastics were famous for their learning and acuteness. Pelagius, the opponent of St. Augustine, and founder of the sect which bore his name, is said to have been a Briton whose real name was Morgan (*i.e.* “near the sea”), whilst his disciple Celestius was an Irishman. St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes, were sent over to Britain by pope Celestine to confute the Pelagians in 429; and St. Germain paid a second visit in 446 with Severus, bishop of Trèves.

The connection of Britain with the Western church continued when its political union with Rome had been severed. Christianity, extirpated from England by the heathen conquerors, survived in Wales. Meanwhile, at the very time when Britain was lost to Rome, IRELAND

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xciv. p. 200. | Britons who still adhered to their ancient But to these causes must undoubtedly be | faith would make common cause with added that of religion; for those of the | Pagan invaders.

appears in our history as receiving the Christian faith through the ministry of Palladius and St. Patrick, natives of Britain, but sent by the Roman bishop to the “*Scots in Ireland*” (A.D. 432).* While England was ravaged by the heathen conquerors, Ireland is depicted, in colours probably much brighter than the truth, as peacefully enjoying the light and learning which earned for her the fond name of the “Island of the Saints.”†

* The story of the conversion of the southern or lowland Picts, as early as 396, by St. NINIAN or NYNIA is doubtful.

† The origin of this boasted title has been traced, with great probability, to the old Greek form of the native name *Eri*, namely, ἡ ἱερὰ νῆσος, “the sacred island,” popular tradition pointing to the west

from time immemorial as the seat of the blessed. The native annals show no age in which Ireland was not the scene of feuds and wars, from the time when one of its chiefs fled to Agricola, to that when Dermot Macmorrogh invited its conquest by Henry II.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. CÆSAR'S VOYAGES TO BRITAIN.

The subject of Cæsar's two voyages to Britain has given rise to much controversy. In relating his first voyage Cæsar merely says that he sailed from the country of the Morini, without specifying the precise spot; but there can be little doubt that he started from the same place as in his second expedition, namely, the Portus Itius, which is supposed by D'Anville, who has been followed by most modern writers, to be Wissant, just east of Cape Grisnez, about halfway between Boulogne and Calais. In his first expedition Cæsar must have landed on the 27th of August, since he tells us that it was full moon on the fourth day after his arrival in Britain; and it has been calculated by the astronomer Dr. Halley that this full moon fell on the night of the 30th of August (*Philosophical Transactions*, abridged to the end of the year 1700 by John Lowthorpe, vol. iii. p. 412). Dr. Halley maintained that Cæsar landed at Deal, and his opinion has been adopted by almost all subsequent writers; but Mr. Lewin has urged strong arguments for supposing that Cæsar landed at Lympne (near Hythe), the Roman Portus Lemanis, afterwards one of the castles of the Saxon coast (*The Invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar*, 2nd edition, 1862). There is less to be said for the entirely new hypothesis of Sir George B. Airy, the Astronomer-Royal, who supposes that Cæsar sailed from the estuary

of the Somme and landed at the beach of Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex, near the spot where William the Conqueror disembarked nearly eleven centuries afterwards. The reader will find the arguments of Sir George in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 231, seq.

At whichever place he landed there can be little doubt that the British camp stormed by Cæsar (on his second invasion) was on the high ground about the Stour at Wys (probably at Challock Wood), and that he marched along the line of the old British track skirting the south edge of the North Downs, which was called in the Middle Ages the *Pilgrim's Way*, and, after crossing the Thames, up the valley of the Coln, to Verulamium (St. Albans). He had Mandubratius for his guide. He certainly did not march by the line of the later Watling Street (the modern Dover road); and it is only by pure invention, or a gross blunder (the source of which may be traced), that fabulous historians (such as Geoffrey of Monmouth) bring him to London, which he left far on his right. His return to the coast was evidently by the same route as his advance.

B. THE ROMAN WALLS.

1. The Roman fortification which crosses England from the Solway Firth to the River Tyne, consists of a stone wall and an earthen rampart (or rather double, and in some places triple, lines of ram-



parts, with ditches) running generally parallel with one another, at the distance of 60 or 70 yards; but the distance varies greatly with the nature of the ground. Dr. Bruce proves, in his work on the "Roman Wall," that the stone wall and the turf vallum both belong to one and the same fortification, and that they were erected by the emperor Hadrian at one and the same time, the former to check the Caledonians, the latter to repress any hostile attempts of the southern Britons. It is impossible in the limits of this note to cite the evidence by which Dr. Bruce sustains this view against the unfounded opinion that, as the vallum of Hadrian was not sufficient to check the Caledonians, it was strengthened, or rather superseded, by the wall of Severus. The inscriptions prove that the whole works, including the great camps along the lines, and the supporting stations to the north and south, were Hadrian's, and that the part of Severus was limited to considerable repairs. The wall must not be conceived of as a mere defence, but a military base for operations on both sides of it. The castles along it have *gates to the north*, and the many coins found there prove that the ground north of the wall was maintained down to the time of Carausius (286-294). On the same evidence, and that of the important list of stations on the Wall in the *Notitia Imperii*, we know that the Wall itself was held till the reign of Honorius, and the final withdrawal of the legions.

2. Along the line of the northern "Wall of Antoninus" (*Graeme's*, or more properly *Grimes*, i.e. the "boundary," *Dyke*) many inscriptions have been found, mentioning the work done by cohorts of the three legions (IIInd, VIth, and XXth), and one which has the name of *LOLLIUS URBICUS* as Praetorian Prefect of Antoninus Pius.

It should be observed that Gildas, Bede, and Nennius connect the name of *Severus* with the *northern wall*, while they greatly confuse the two.

C. THE COMES LITTORIS SAXONICI.

Lappenberg, Kemble, and several others maintain that this officer derived his name, not from defending the coast which was exposed to the invasions of the Saxon pirates, but from his command-

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ing the Saxons, who were settled along the coasts of Britain before the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in 450. But there seems no objection to the ordinary interpretation which has been adopted in the text. Dr. Guest correctly remarks that, as the Welsh marches in Shropshire and the Scotch marches in Northumberland were so called, not because they were inhabited by Welshmen or Scotchmen, but because they were open to the incursions of these two races, and were provided with a regular military organization for the purpose of repelling their incursions, so, for precisely similar reasons, the south-eastern coast of Britain was called the Saxon Shore, or Frontier. The title first occurs in the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii* (a work compiled about the beginning of the fifth century), where the Saxon Shore is also called the Saxon Frontier (*Limes Saxonicus*). The *Notitia* gives a list of the forces which held the nine great castles from Branodunum (*Brancaster*), on the north coast of Norfolk, to Portus Adurni (perhaps *Aldrington*, at the mouth of the *Adur*) in Sussex. The other seven were Garianonum (*Burgh Castle*, on the *Yare*), Othona (*Ithancester*, just below the *Blackwater*), Regulbium (*Reculver*), and Rutupia (*Richborough*), which defended the two mouths of the *Stour*, then a strait cutting off *Thanet*; Portus Dubris (*Dover*); Portus Lemanis (*Lymne*); Anderida (*Peversey*). They were garrisoned by detachments and auxiliaries of the Second Legion, the head-quarters of which had been moved from *Caerleon* on the *Usk* to Richborough, to protect the communication with the continent. The walls at Burgh, Richborough, and Peversey, may be traced by their splendid ruins. Some of these castles (as at Richborough, Dover, and Lymne) date, doubtless, from the earliest time of the Roman occupation; but there are grounds for ascribing the final organization of the system of defence to Theodosius, the general of Valentinian I.

D. THE SCOTS AND PICTS.

From the second to the eleventh century the Scots are mentioned as the inhabitants of Ireland, and that island bore the name of *Scotia*. This is clearly proved by the authorities collected by

Zeuss, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, p. 568. Thus Claudian says—

"Scotorum cumulos slevit glacialis Ierne."
De IV. Com. Hon. 33.

"Me juvit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus lernen
Morit." *De Laud. Stilich. II. 251.*

The Gaelic spoken by the Scotch Highlanders is the same language as the Erse spoken by the Irish, and there can be no doubt that it was brought into Britain by the Irish Scots.

E. GOVERNMENT AND DIVISIONS OF BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

Britain, like the other distant provinces of the empire, was under the immediate superintendence of the emperor, and not of the senate. It was formed into a Roman province by the emperor Claudius after the campaign of A.D. 43, and was governed at first by a Legatus of consular rank: its financial affairs were administered by a procurator. It was subsequently divided by Septimius Severus into two parts, Britannia Superior and Inferior, each governed by a Praeses.

The later organization of Britain is explained in the *Notitia Imperii*. When Diocletian divided the empire into four Praefectures, Britain formed the third great diocese in the prefecture of the Gauls, of which the Praefectus Praetorio resided, first at Trèves, and afterwards at Aries. Britain was governed by a *Vicarius*, who resided at Eboracum (York), and was subdivided into four provinces, Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia Cæsariensis, and Maxima Cæsariensis: to which a fifth, Valentia, was added by Theodosius in A.D. 388. The exact extent of these provinces is very uncertain, and the detailed situation of them in most maps rests mainly upon the so-called work of Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the 14th century, a shameless forgery by Charles Bertram in the 18th century.

ROMAN MILITARY COMMANDERS. The military forces were originally under the command of the Legatus, but after the separation of the civil and military administration of the provinces by Diocletian, they were placed under three chief military officers, who bore the titles of *Comes Britanniarum*, *Comes Litoris*

Saxonici per Britanniam, and *Dux Britanniarum*. The title of *Comes*, or *Companion*, was the highest, and the *Comes Britanniarum* had the chief command of the military forces in Britain. The *Comes Litoris Saxonici* has been already spoken of. The *Dux Britanniarum* had charge of the wall of Hadrian and the command of the troops in the northern part of the province.

At the time of the *Notitia* the Roman army in Britain consisted of about 20,000 men. The four legions sent over by Claudius were these:—II. *Augusta*; IX. *Hispana* or *Victrix*; XIV. *Gemina*; XX. *Valeria Victrix*; and the first and last remained in Britain during the four centuries of the Roman rule. The IXth was twice cut to pieces, in the revolt of Boadicea and under Agricola in Caledonia. The XIVth was twice withdrawn, by Nero and finally by Vespasian. The VIth (*Victrix*), when brought over from Germany (probably with Hadrian), made up the permanent force of *three legions*, with their auxiliaries, including barbarians from all parts of the empire. (This last fact is important in considering the influence of the Roman occupation on the population of Britain.) The VIth legion always had its head-quarters at York for the defence of the Northern Frontier. It bore the chief part in building the Wall, aided by detachments from the IIInd and XXth. The XXth was, after several removes, permanently fixed at Deva (*Chester*), the Civitas Legionum of North Wales (or *Caerleon on the Dee*), keeping watch on the mountaineers, and garrisoning the castles on the Cumbrian coast within the Wall. It had disappeared at the time of the *Notitia*. The IIInd, with which Vespasian overran the south and west, was fixed among the mountains of South Wales, at Isca Silurum, the southern Civitas Legionum (*Caerleon on the Usk*), whence it was finally transferred to Rutupiæ (*Richborough*), to guard the passage to the continent and the castles of the Saxon Shore. There was a third Civitas Legionum in Mid-Britain (*Leicester*, from the A.S. *Lege-o-easter*, as Chester also was called); but it does not seem to have been the permanent headquarters of any legion. The auxiliary troops, as we learn from their inscriptions, were a very *colluvies gentium*—Spaniards, Gauls, Batavians, Dalmatians,

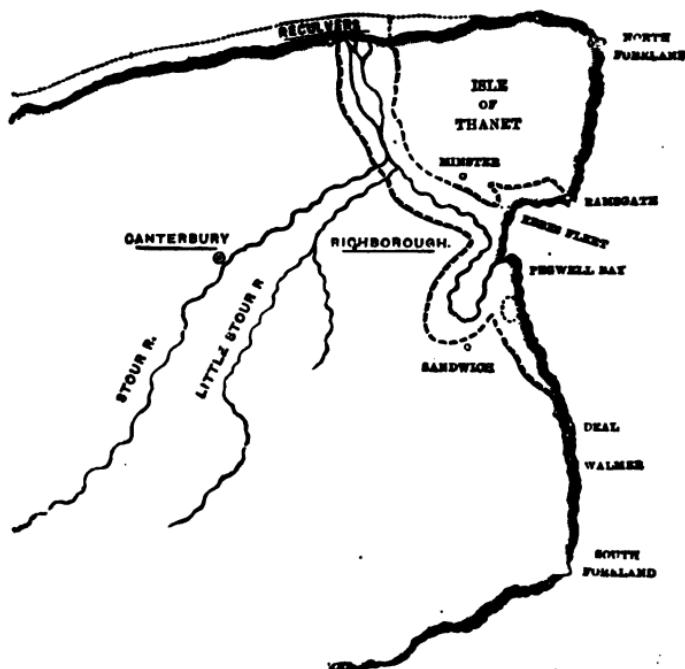
Pannonians, Dacians; besides Asiatics, who brought the worship of the Sun-god into Britain; and there was even a body of Parthian cavalry on the Severn at Uriconium (*Wroxeter*). Britons served abroad, but of native troops serving in the island, as the *Catuvellauni* and *Dumnones*, among the builders of the Wall, the notices are few.

F. AUTHORITIES.

Some of the classical authorities respecting the early history of Britain have been alluded to in the preceding pages, and most of the passages bearing on the subject in the Greek and Latin writers, as well as in the ancient English authors, will be found collected in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. 1848. The earliest English writer, BEDE (A.D. 730), in his *Ecclesiastical History and Chronicle*, chiefly follows, for the Roman period, Jerome's version of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, and other Latin chroniclers, the late and inaccurate Latin historians, Eutropius and the *Universal History* of Orosius, which comes down to A.D. 417. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle** follows Bede, and so do the later chroniclers, Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, etc.; but those who wrote after the Norman Conquest are infected by the fabulous legends derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth. The Welsh *Chronicles* have few incidents of any value, but there are two early British writers professedly belonging to the age following the Roman dominion: (1.) GILDAS THE WISE, of whose life we have various accounts, appears in any case to have been a British ecclesiastic of high birth, born (as he himself tells us) in the year of the great battle of Mount Badon (516), and his death is placed in A.D. 570. His *Liber Querulus de Excidio Britannia*, which has come down to us in a very imperfect state, seems to have been written in Armorica (Brittany), where he had taken refuge from the advancing English conquerors, about A.D. 550. It is a history of Britain from the

Roman invasion to his own time, followed by a most objurgatory letter to the British princes of Wales, written in a very inflated style. The work is printed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. It has also been edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, for the English Historical Society, 1838. (2.) The *Historia Brittonum*, from the Creation to 687, ascribed to NENNIIUS, is less trustworthy. It is often ascribed to Gildas, from whose work much of it is taken. It appears to be the production of an anonymous author, copied and interpolated by a scribe, perhaps named Nennius, in A.D. 858. The author professes to have collected his materials from the traditions of his elders, the monuments of the ancient Britons, the Latin chroniclers (Isidorus, Jerome, Prosper, &c.), and from the histories of the Scots and Saxons. It contains interesting traditions found here for the first time, but mixed with at least the germ of the fables collected by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is edited in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, and by Mr. Stevenson. The most important modern works on Roman Britain are:—Camden's *Britannia*; Horsley's *Britannia Romana*; Stukely's *Stonehenge*; Whittaker's *History of Manchester*; Lappenberg's *History of England*, translated by Thorpe; *The Early and Middle Ages of England*, by Professor Pearson; Algernon Herbert's *Britannia under the Romans*; Bruce's *Roman Wall*; Böcking's Notes on the *Notitia Dignitatum*, vol. ii. p. 496; Guest, *On the Early English Settlements in South Britain*, published in the *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, meeting at Salisbury, 1849; also, *On the Four Roman Ways*, *On the Landing of Julius Caesar*, and *On the Campaign of Aulus Plautius*, in the *Archaeological Journal*, vols. xiv., xxi., xxiii.; besides many papers by different authors in various antiquarian publications; Roach Smith's *Collectanea and Antiquities of Lynne, Richborough, and Reculver*; Wright's *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*; and Dean Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*.

* See Note D at end of chapter iv.



Map of the Isle of Thanet at the time of the landing of the Saxons.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS TILL THE REIGN OF EGBERT, A.D. 450-827.

- § 1. The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. § 2. Manners and religion of the Anglo-Saxons. § 3. Their ships and arms. § 4. First settlement of the German invaders—in Kent. British traditions. § 5. Saxon account. § 6. Second settlement of the German invaders—in Sussex. § 7. Third settlement of the German invaders—in Wessex. § 8. Fourth settlement of the German invaders—in Essex and Middlesex. § 9. Fifth settlement of the German invaders—in Norfolk and Suffolk. § 10. Sixth settlement of the German invaders—in Northumbria. § 11. The kingdom of Mercia. § 12. The Heptarchy. British States. § 13. The Bretwaldas, Ella of Sussex, Ceawlin of Wessex. § 14. Æthelberht of Kent, third Bretwadla. Introduction of Christianity. § 15. Death of Æthelberht. Redwald of East Anglia, fourth Bretwadla. Adventures of Edwin of Northumbria. § 16. Edwin, fifth Bretwadla. His conversion to Christianity. § 17. History of Northumbria. Oswald, sixth Bretwadla. § 18. Oswy of Northumbria, seventh Bretwadla. Decline of the kingdom of Northumbria. § 19. History of Wessex. Ina and Egbert. § 20. History of Mercia. Æthelbald and Offa. § 21. Conquests of Egbert, who becomes sole king of England.

§ 1. THE people who ultimately succeeded in establishing themselves in this country were a branch of the Germanic race, and, under the general name of Saxons, inhabited the north-western coast of Germany, from the Cimbric Chersonesus, or present Denmark, to the mouths of the Rhine. The Germanic tribes have always been divided into two great branches, to which modern writers have given the name of *High German* (the people in the interior or higher parts of Germany) and *Low German* (the people in the lower parts of the country near the coast). The invaders belonged to the Low Germanic branch, and their language was closely allied to that of the modern Dutch. The Low Germanic tribes (called by Tacitus by various names, among whom the *Chauci** were dominant) were known to the Romans by the general name of *Saxons*. At the period of which we are speaking, we find them divided into three principal tribes, the Saxons proper, the Angles, and the Jutes.

I. *The Saxons.*†—The Saxons are first mentioned in the second century by Ptolemy, who places them upon the narrow neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and in three islands opposite the mouth of the Elbe. Thence their power extended westward as far as the mouths of the Rhine. Among the tribes absorbed by them were the Frisians, who probably formed the majority of the Saxon invaders of England, though they are only mentioned under the general name of *Saxons*.‡ The country south of the Thames, with the exception of Kent and the Isle of Wight, was occupied by the Saxons proper or Frisians, who founded the kingdoms of the South Saxons (*Sud-seaxe*, whence *Sussex*), of the West Saxons (*West-seaxe*, *Wes-sex*), and of the East Saxons (*East-seaxe*, *Es-sex*), the last including the Middle Saxons (whence *Middle-sex*).

II. *The Angles* (*Angle* or *Engle*) seem to have been a more numerous and powerful race, as they peopled a larger district of Britain, and at length gave their name to the whole land.§ The language which, with slight dialectic variations, was common to all the German invaders, was called *English* (*Englisc*), even before the island was called *England* (*Engla-land*). The Angles settled

* These *Chauci*, and the *Frisii*, who appear as closely connected with them in Tacitus, seem to have the best claim to have been the ancestors of the English people. Their character and manners are described by Tacitus (Germ. 34, 35).

† Their name is usually derived from the large knife or short sword, *seax* or *ses*, which they carried.

‡ See Notes and Illustrations (A).

§ The Saxon kingdom of Wessex after-

wards obtained the political supremacy, and hence the name of Anglo-Saxon was given to the whole nation, whose kings assumed the title of *Rex Anglo-Saxonum*, i.e. of the *Angles* and *Saxons*. In some old documents England is called *Saxonia*, but this name is usually confined to the Saxon settlements. The original abode of the Saxons in Germany was called *Old Saxon* by the English.

in *East Anglia*, or the eastern counties north of Essex; in *Northumbria*, or all the region east of the central ridge,* from the Humber to the Forth; and penetrated into *Mercia*, that is, the border-land of the purer Anglian and Saxon settlements embracing the midland counties. The Angles are first mentioned by Tacitus † as claiming to be the noblest and most ancient of the tribes on the Baltic. The origin of their name is involved in obscurity; but may probably be traced in the much more powerful tribe of the *Angrivarii* (i.e. *Angre* or *Angle-ware*, “the Angle people”), whom Tacitus places on the Weser and the Elbe, in the rear of the Frisians and Saxons. These answer well to the *Angili*, whom Ptolemy describes as the greatest tribe of the interior of Germany. The early English writers supposed the Angles to have come from the Cimbric Chersonesus, where they inhabited a district called *Angel*, between the Saxons and the Jutes. There is still a district which bears this name between the river Schley and the Flensburg Fiord in Sleswig; but this region was much too small to have supplied the migration to Britain, and its people are rather a remnant than the source of the great Anglian race.

III. *The Jutes*.—These invaders were not so numerous even as the Saxons, and occupied only Kent, the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire. They came from the peninsula of Jutland, which is now inhabited by the Danes; but it is probable that the possessions of the Germans, who at present people the southern part of the peninsula, extended further north in ancient times, and there are reasons for believing that the Jutes were Goths, who, like the Saxons and Angles, were also a Low Germanic race. The Jutes seem to have been more closely connected with the Angles than with the Saxons; and the first Jutish settlers in Kent are also called Angles in the earliest records. Bede speaks collectively of the people to whom the Britons sent for aid as “the race of the Angles or Saxons.”‡

§ 2. The German races who invaded Britain were Pagan barbarians. Their religion, which was common to them with the Scandinavians, seems to have been a compound between the worship of the celestial bodies and that of deified heroes. This fact will appear from the names they applied to the days of the week, which custom has still retained among us. Thus *Sunnandæg* and *Monandæg*, Sunday and Monday, were named after the two great luminaries. The name of Tuesday is derived from *Tiw*, probably the same as the *Tuisco* of Tacitus, the national deity of the Teutons.

* This ridge, running north and south from the Cheviots to the Peak Forest in Derbyshire, is called the *Dorsum Britannica* or *Pennine Chain*.

† *Germania*, c. 40.

‡ *Anglorum sive Saxonum gens*, Bede, H. E. i. 15.

Wodnesdæg, or Wednesday, was sacred to Woden or Odin, the god of war, common to all the Teutonic and Scandinavian races. That he must have been a deified hero and king appears from the circumstance that those leaders, whose kindred formed the royal houses among the Anglo-Saxons, for the most part derived their descent from Woden. *Thunresdæg* ("thunder's-day"), or Thursday, was named after the god Thor, the thunderer, equivalent to the Greek and Roman Jove, who wielded a hammer instead of a thunder-bolt. *Freya-dæg*, or Friday, was sacred to the goddess Freya, the northern Venus and consort of Woden. Lastly, Saturday derived its name from *Sætere*, who, from the attributes with which he is represented, viz. a fish and a bucket, appears to have been a water-god.

Besides these, the Anglo-Saxons had many other deities. They believed in the immortality of the soul and the existence of a supernatural world; but their worship, though fanciful and superstitious, was not tainted with so much cruelty as disfigured that of the Druids. Their sensual notions of a future state were calculated, like those of the Mahometans, to inspire them with a contempt for death. They believed that if they obtained the favour of Woden by their valour (for they made less account of other virtues) they should be admitted after this life into his hall, and, reposing on couches, should satiate themselves with ale or mead from the skulls of their enemies whom they had slain in battle. Incited by this idea of paradise, which gratified at once the passion of revenge and that of intemperance, the ruling inclinations of barbarians, they despised the dangers of war, and increased their native ferocity against the vanquished by their religious prejudices.

§ 3. The ships, or "keels" (*ceolas*), of the Saxons appear at an ancient period to have been rudely constructed of a few planks surmounted with wattled osiers and covered with skins; and in these frail vessels they fearlessly trusted themselves without a compass to the winds and waves of the stormy ocean which washed their shores; but in the fifth century their ships may have been enlarged in size and improved in solidity of construction. The arms of the Anglo-Saxons were targets worn on the left arm, spears, bows and arrows, swords, battle-axes, and heavy clubs furnished with spikes of iron. Sidonius, the bishop of Clermont, has described the terror inspired by these barbarians. "We have not," he says, "a more cruel and more dangerous enemy than the Saxons. They overcome all who have the courage to oppose them. They surprise all who are so imprudent as not to be prepared for their attack. When they pursue, they infallibly overtake: when they are pursued, their escape is certain. They despise danger: they are inured to shipwreck: they are eager to purchase booty with the peril of their

lives. Tempests, so dreadful to others, are to them subjects of joy. The storm is their protection when they are pressed by the enemy, and a cover for their operations when they meditate an attack. Before they quit their own shores, they devote to the altars of their gods the tenth part of the principal captives · and when they are on the point of returning, the lots are cast with an affectation of equity, and the impious vow is fulfilled.”* Such were the barbarians who were now approaching the British shores.

§ 4. *First settlement of the German invaders, A.D. 450.*—The first arrival of the Saxon tribes in England is commonly placed either in the year 449 or 450.† Of the manner of their coming and their first proceedings in the island we find two sets of traditions, those of the British and those of the English writers, which vary in many important particulars. According to the former, the two Jutish leaders, Hengest and Horsa, being banished from their native country, and wandering about with their followers in three vessels in quest of new habitations, were invited by the British king, Vortigern, to assist him against the Scots and Picts. For the services which he had rendered, Hengest and his followers were rewarded with the Isle of Thanet, separated at that time by a broad estuary from the rest of Kent.‡ Hengest now sent over to his native country for reinforcements, and also caused his daughter Rowena, who was celebrated for her beauty, to be conveyed to the land of his adoption. At a great feast given by the Saxons, Vortigern beheld Rowena, received from her hands the wassail cup, and, captivated by her charms, renounced Christianity for her sake, and ceded to Hengest the remainder of Kent in return for her hand. His indignant subjects now deposed Vortigern, and placed his son Vortimer on the throne, who defeated Hengest in three great battles, and compelled him to retire for some years from Britain. Rowena having contrived to poison Vortimer, Vortigern again ascended the throne, and recalled his father-in-law Hengest; but as the Britons refused to reinstate him in his possessions, a conference of 300 of the chiefs of each nation was appointed to be held at Stonehenge in order to settle the points in dispute. In the midst of the discussion Hengest suddenly exclaimed to his followers, “Nimath eowre seaxas” (take your knives), and 299 Britons fell dead upon the spot. Vortigern alone was spared, for whose ransom three provinces, afterwards known as Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex,

* Sidon. viii. 6, quoted by Lingard, I p. 73.

† The invasion is placed by Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the first year of the reign of the emperor Marcian, which corresponds to A.D. 450, though

they wrongly call it A.D. 449. The date must not be taken as a fact in chronology, but as a calculation of the early writers (chiefly Bede) from certain data, not all of which are consistent.

‡ See Notes and Illustrations (B).

were demanded. Over these Hengest reigned, and was succeeded by his son Octa, called in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* *Æsc*.

In this narrative British and Roman traditions are confounded with the old Saxon Saga of the manner in which the Saxons gained possession of Thuringia. The principal assertion of the narrative, that Hengest received the three provinces mentioned as the ransom of Vortigern, is of all the least true, as they did not fall under the Saxon dominion till a much later period. These stories seem to have been invented by Welsh authors in order to palliate the ineffectual resistance made at first by their countrymen, and to account for the rapid progress and licentious devastations of the Saxons.

§ 5. The accounts of the conquerors themselves, as recorded by Bede, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,* and others, are more to be relied upon.† According to these authorities, which differ in minor details, Vortigern invited the Angles to his assistance in 449. They landed at Hyppwines-fleet, "fought against the Picts, and had victory whithersoever they came." Sending to their country for reinforcements, a larger army landed in the country, consisting of Old Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. After an easy triumph, the victorious Jutes invited their countrymen beyond the sea to come and take possession of a fertile island, which the sloth and cowardice of the inhabitants had rendered them unable to defend. Several battles were fought. At the battle of *Æglesford*, the lowest ford on the Medway (the present Aylesford), Horsa was slain (A.D. 455).‡ Two years after, another great battle was fought between the Saxons and Britons at Grecganford (Crayford) in Kent, when the Saxons, led by Hengest and his son, surnamed *Æsc* (or the Ash), gained a signal victory. The Britons were completely driven out of Kent, and Hengest and his son assumed kingly power. In 465 Hengest and *Æsc* gained a great victory over twelve British chieftains near

* See Notes and Illustrations to chapter iv. (C).

† Lappenberg, Sir Francis Palgrave, and Kemble regard the whole account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest as of no historical value, and maintain that we have no real history of the Anglo-Saxons till their conversion to Christianity, 150 years later. Hengest and Horsa, it is said, are mythical personages, Hengest (*Hengst*) and Horsa being the Teutonic names for stallion and horse. There are, however, good reasons for believing that the commonly received account of the conquest is based upon historical facts. See Dr. Guest in the *Proceedings of the Archaeo-*

logical Institute for 1849. It is to be observed that there must have been old English records, which are followed independently by Bede and the *Chronicle*. Bede expressly says that he used such authorities; and the *Chronicle*, which generally follows Bede, gives events (especially details of the conquest) not found in the earlier writer.

‡ According to Bede, the monument of Horsa was still to be seen in his time in the eastern part of Kent; and two miles north of Aylesford, at a place called Horsted, a collection of flint-stones is pointed out as the tomb of Horsa.

Wippedsfleet (Ebbes-fleet?): eight years later they "fought against the Welsh (*i.e.* the Britons) and took spoils innumerable, and the Welsh fled from the Angles like fire" (A.D. 473).* According to British accounts, the Britons rallied under Ambrosius Aurelianus † and Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, who won three great battles, and drove the invaders back to Thanet. Hengest died in the 40th year after his arrival in Britain, and was succeeded by Æsc, who reigned 24 years, and won more territory from the Britons. He was the founder of the dynasty of the *Æscings*, or Ashings,‡ sons of the Ashtree, the name given to the kings of Kent.

§ 6. *Second Settlement of the German invaders, A.D. 477.*—In the year 477, four years after the decisive victory of Hengest, Ella (Ælla, or Ælle), with his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, landed with a body of Saxons from three ships at the place afterwards called Cymenes-ora (Shoreham), upon the eastern side of Chichester harbour in Sussex; but the Britons were not expelled, till after many battles, by their warlike invaders. The most graphic record in the whole story of the conquest is that of the capture of the old Roman town of Anderida, or Andredes-ceaster (Pevensey), by Ella and Cissa, "who slew all that dwelt therein, nor was a single Briton left there" (491). Ella assumed the title of king of the *South-Saxons* or *Sussex*, and extended his dominion over the modern county of Sussex and a great part of Surrey. Ella is said to have died between 514 and 519. He was succeeded by his son Cissa, in whose line the kingdom of Sussex remained for a long period, though we know not even the name of any of his successors. The capital of this kingdom was Chichester (Cissa-ceaster, the fortress or city of Cissa), the British and Roman *Regnum*. To these German invaders is due the division of Sussex into *rapes*, which again are divided into *hundreds*.

§ 7. *Third settlement of the German invaders, A.D. 495.*—The third body of German invaders were, like the last, also Saxons. They landed in 495, under the command of Cerdic and his son Cynric, at a place called Cerdices-ora, which was probably at the head of the Hamble creek, on the eastern side of Southampton Water. None of the invaders met with such vigorous resistance, or exerted so much valour and perseverance in pushing their conquests. Cerdic did not make much progress till six years later, after calling in further aid from the continent. In 514 Cerdic was reinforced by

* The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is the authority for all these battles.

Vortigern.

† He is represented as the leader of the Romanized Britons, in opposition to

‡ The termination -ing is the sign of the Anglo-Saxon patronymic.

the arrival of his nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar, who are also represented as Jutish leaders. Cerdic's power now became more formidable; many districts were conquered, and among them the Isle of Wight, which Cerdic bestowed on his nephews (530). It was not, however, till his great victory over the Britons at Cerdices-ford (or Charford, in Hampshire), in 519, that Cerdic assumed the royal title and erected the kingdom of the *West-Saxons* or *Wessex*. Cerdic's further progress towards the west was checked by a great defeat which he received in the following year at Mount Badon* from Arthur, prince of the Damnonii, whose heroic valour now sustained the declining fate of his country. This is that Arthur so much celebrated in the songs of British bards, and whose military achievements have been blended with so many fables as even to have given occasion for entertaining a doubt of his real existence. But, though poets disfigure the lineaments of history by their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth where they are the sole historians, as among the Britons, they have commonly some real foundation for their wildest exaggerations.

Cerdic died in 534, leaving his dominions to his son Cynric, who ruled till his death in 560, and considerably extended his kingdom, the capital of which was Wintan-ceaster, or Winchester, the Roman Venta Belgarum. Cynric was succeeded by his son Ceawlin, who took from the Britons the great Roman cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath (577), and extended his conquests up the valley of the Severn, as well as to the north of the Thames.†

§ 8. *Fourth settlement of the German invaders, A.D. 526.*—These invaders were also Saxons. They founded the kingdom of the *East-Saxons* or *Essex*, to which the *Middle-Saxons* or *Middlesex* also belonged. Escvin was the first king of Essex; but his son Sledda, who married a daughter of Ælhelberht of Kent, appears as a subject of his father-in-law; and Essex, though styled a kingdom, seems always to have been subject to the neighbouring kings.

§ 9. *Fifth settlement of the German invaders.*—The four preceding invasions had been made by the Jutes and Saxons; but the next two settlements consisted of Angles. Towards the middle or end of the sixth century, for the exact date is unknown, some Angles, apparently divided into two tribes, the *North-Folk* and

* Mount Badon is usually identified with Bath; but Dr. Guest adduces strong reasons for believing it to be Badbury, near Blandford, in Dorsetshire. (*Ut supra.* p. 63.) The year of the battle of Mount Badon was also that of the birth of Gildas, who exults over the "slaughter of the villains" (*de furciferis*). He represents

it as separating a time of conflict and disaster from one of comparative repose, during which, however, the Britons grew more and more corrupt.

+ See Dr. Guest's "English Conquest of the Severn Valley," in the *Archæological Journal* for 1862, vol. xix. pp. 193, foll.

the *South-Folk*, founded the kingdom of East Anglia, comprising the modern counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and parts of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Hardly anything is known of the history of East Anglia. Uffa is said to have been the first king, and his descendants were styled Uffingas, just as the race of Kentish kings were called *Æsciugas*.

§ 10. *Sixth settlement of the German invaders, about A.D. 547.*—The country to the north of the Humber had been early separated into two British states, namely, Deifyr (Deora-rice), extending from the Humber to the Tyne, and Berneich (Beorna-rice), lying between the Tyne and the Forth. These names, afterwards Latinized into *Deira* and *Bernicia*, were retained till a late period. The two countries were separated by a vast forest occupying the district between the Tyne and the Tees, or the modern county of Durham. According to a tradition preserved by Nennius, Hengest sent for his son Ochta, and for Ebissa the son of Horsa, who came over in forty ships, and settled in the north of Britain, up to the confines of the Picts. It cannot be doubted that the Angles had occupied parts of Northumbria at an early period; though it was not till the conquests of Ida, who fought his way southward from the Lothians, that the Angles obtained the supremacy (547). Ida became king of Bernicia, and transmitted his power to his son; and a separate Anglian kingdom was founded in Deira by Ella. These two kingdoms remained for some years in a state of hostility with one another; but they were united in the person of *Æthelfrith* or *Ædelfrid*, grandson of Ida, who had married a daughter of Ella, and who expelled her infant brother Edwin. It was not, however, till the restoration of Edwin, in 617, that the united kingdoms seem to have assumed the name of Northumbria, which was for some time the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon states.

§ 11. The country to the west of East Anglia and Deira was known by the name of the *March* or boundary, and was invaded by Anglian chieftains, who were for some time subject to the kings of Northumbria. It was erected into an independent state by Penda, about 626, under the name of the *March* or *Mercia*, which was subsequently extended to the Severn, and comprised the whole of the centre of England. It was divided by the Trent into North and South Mercia.

§ 12. Thus, after a century and a half, was gradually established in Britain what has been called the Heptarchy, or seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, namely Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. The term is not strictly correct, for there were never exactly seven independent kingdoms co-existent; and, if the smaller and dependent ones are reckoned, the number

must be considerably increased. The Britons, or ancient Celtic inhabitants, driven into the western parts of the island, formed several small states. In the extreme south-west lay *Damnonia*, called also *West Wales*, the kingdom of Arthur, occupying at first the



Map of Britain, showing the Settlements of the Anglo-Saxons.

present counties of Cornwall and Devonshire, but limited at a later period, after the separation of Cernau, or Cornwall, to Dyvnaint, or Devonshire. In Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, conquered by the West Saxons at an early period, a large native population still maintained its ground. This was likewise the case

in Devonshire long after its occupation by the Saxons; whence the inhabitants of that district obtained the name of the "Welsh kind." *Cambria*, or *Wales*, was divided into several small kingdoms or principalities. The name of Welsh (*Wealas*) was the German term for foreigners, or those who speak another language, and Wälsch is still applied by the Germans to the Italians. The history of the Celts who dwelt in *Cumbria*, to the north of Wales, is involved in obscurity. Cumbria, or Cumberland, properly so called, included, besides the present county, Westmoreland and Lancashire, and extended into Northumbria, probably as far as the modern Leeds. Caerleol, or Carlisle, was its chief city. North of Cumbria, between the two Roman walls, and to the west of the kingdom of Bernicia, were situated two other British kingdoms: *Reged*, in the southern portion of the district, nearly identical perhaps with Annandale, in Dumfriesshire; and *Strathclyde*, embracing the counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Dumfries, and probably also those of Peebles, Selkirk, and Lanark. These kingdoms were sometimes united under one chief, or Pendragon, called also Tyern, or *tyrannus*, who, like other British princes, regarded himself as the successor, and even as the descendant, of Constantine or Maximus. The Welsh called all the Angles and Saxons by the name of Saxons, as they call the English to this day.

Besides the Britons who found shelter in these western and mountainous regions from the fury of the Saxon and Anglian invaders, great numbers of them, under the conduct of their priests and chieftains, abandoned their native shores altogether, and settled in Armorica, on the western coast of France, which from them derived its subsequent name of Bretagne, or Brittany.

The completeness of the conquest made by the Anglo-Saxons is inferred from the fact that their language forms to this day the staple of our own; but with regard to their treatment of the conquered land, and their relations towards the natives, we are almost entirely in the dark. It is usually stated that the Saxons either exterminated the original population, or drove them into the western parts of the island; but there are good reasons for believing that this was not uniformly the case; and we may conclude from the Welsh traditions, and from the number of Celtic words still existing in the English language, that a considerable number of the Celtic inhabitants remained upon the soil as the slaves or subjects of their conquerors.*

§ 13. As it would be useless to follow the obscure and often doubtful details of the several Anglo-Saxon states, we shall content ourselves with selecting the more remarkable events that occurred

* This subject is more fully discussed in the Notes and Illustrations (C).

down to the time when all the kingdoms were united under the authority of Egbert. The title of *Bretwalda*, or *Brytenwealda*, that is, supreme commander or emperor of Britain, which was given or assumed by him, is assigned in the *Chronicle* to seven earlier kings, whose supremacy among the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns affords some bond of connection to their histories.*

The first who held this sort of supremacy, according to Bede,† was Ella, king of the South Saxons. Ceawlin, king of the West Saxons, or Wessex, the grandson of Cerdic, was the second. The *Aescing*, *Æthelberht*‡ of Kent, disputed the supremacy with him, but was overthrown in a great battle at Wibbandun (Wimbledon), which won Surrey for Wessex (568). Ceawlin united many districts to his kingdom; but, from some unknown cause, the termination of his reign was singularly unprosperous. His own subjects, and even his own relations, with the Britons and Scots, united against him. He was defeated in a great battle at Wodesbeorg (probably Wanborough, near Swindon, in Wilts), in the year 592, and died in exile two years afterwards.

§ 14. After the expulsion of Ceawlin, *Æthelberht* of Kent obtained the supremacy, to which he had for so many years aspired. The most memorable event of his reign was the introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, for the reception of which the mind of *Æthelberht* had been prepared through his marriage with the Christian princess Bertha, daughter of Charibert, the Frank king of Paris. But the immediate cause of its introduction was an incident which occurred at Rome. It happened that Gregory, who afterwards, under the title of the Great, occupied the papal chair, had observed in the market-place of Rome some Anglian youths exposed for sale, whom the Roman merchants, in their trading voyages to Britain, had bought of their mercenary parents. Struck with the beauty of their fair complexions and blooming countenances, Gregory asked to what country they belonged. Being told that they were *Angles*, he replied that they ought more properly to be denominated *angels*: for it was a pity, he said, that the prince of darkness should enjoy so fair a prey, and that so beautiful an exterior should cover a mind destitute of internal grace and righteousness. Inquiring

* The existence of the *Bretwaldas*, at least in the earlier times, is disputed by Mr. Hallam and Mr. Kemble. The title itself occurs, for the first and only time, in the *Chronicle*, in connection with the supremacy of Egbert, "the eighth king that was *Bretwalda*," and then the other seven are named. The list is taken from the passage in Bede, where he names *Æthelberht* as the third among the kings

of the English race who held some sort of supremacy over all the provinces south of the Humber; the limitation applying of course only to the first four, not to the three Northumbrians.

+ "Imperium hujusmodi," Bede, H. E. II. 5.

‡ Usually called Ethelbert, the corrupt form of the name.

further concerning the name of their province, he was informed that it was Deira, a district of Northumbria. "Deira," replied he, "that is good! They are called to the mercy of God from his anger (*de ira*). But what is the name of the king of that province?" He was told it was *Æ.la*, or Alla. "Allelujah!" cried he; "we must endeavour that the praises of God be sung in their country." Moved by these auguries, which appeared to him so happy, Gregory determined to undertake himself a mission into Britain, and, having obtained the Pope's approbation, prepared for the journey; but his popularity at home was so great, that the Romans, unwilling to expose him to such dangers, opposed his design; and he was obliged for the present to lay aside all further thoughts of executing his pious purpose.*

After his accession to the pontificate, Gregory, anxious for the conversion of Britain, sent Augustine, a Roman monk, with forty associates, to preach the gospel in this island. Terrified with the danger of propagating the faith among so fierce a people, of whose language they were ignorant, the missionaries stopped some time in Gaul, and sent back Augustine to lay the hazards and difficulties of the undertaking before the pope, and crave his permission to return. But Gregory exhorted them to persevere; and Augustine, on his arrival in Kent in the year 597, found the danger much less than he had apprehended. *Æthelberht*, already well disposed towards the Christian faith, assigned him a habitation in the Isle of Thanet, and soon after admitted him to a conference. Encouraged by his favourable reception, and seeing now a prospect of success, Augustine proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the gospel to the people of Kent. Numbers were converted and baptized, and the king himself was persuaded to submit to the same rite. Augustine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, was endowed by Gregory with authority over all the British churches, and in token of his new dignity received the pall from Rome (601). Christianity was soon afterwards introduced into the kingdom of Essex, whose sovereign, Sæberht or Sebert, was *Æthelberht*'s nephew; and through the influence of *Æthelberht*, Mellitus, who had been the apostle of Christianity in Essex, was appointed to the bishopric of London, where a church dedicated to St. Paul was erected, as some say, on the site of a former temple of Diana. Sebert also erected on Thorney Island, which was formed by the branches of a small river falling into the Thames, a church dedicated to St. Peter, where West-

* This celebrated story is told by Bede (II. 1), and is copied from him, with slight variations, by other medieval writers. The names indicate that the

legend is nothing more than a monkish and poetical version of the introduction of Christianity into the North *Anglian* settlements of the island.

minster Abbey now stands. In Kent the see of Rochester was founded by Augustine, and bestowed upon Justus.

§ 15. The marriage of *Æthelberht* with Bertha, and, much more his adoption of Christianity, brought his subjects into connection with the Franks, Italians, and other nations of the continent, and tended to reclaim them from that gross ignorance and barbarity in which all the Saxon and Anglian tribes had been hitherto involved. *Æthelberht* also, with the advice of his counsellors, enacted a body of laws, the first written laws promulgated by any of the German conquerors. He governed the kingdom of Kent 51 years, and, dying in 616, left the succession to his son Eadbald, who possessed neither the abilities nor the authority of his father. The supremacy among the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms south of the Humber passed to the fourth *Bretwala*, Redwald, king of the East Angles (586-624). The protection afforded by Redwald to young Edwin, the rightful heir of the kingdom of Deira, brought him into collision with *Æthelfrith*, king of Northumbria. It has been already mentioned that *Æthelfrith* had united Deira to Bernicia, by seizing upon it at the death of Ella, whose daughter he had married, and expelling her infant brother Edwin. Redwald marched into Northumbria, and fought a battle with *Æthelfrith*, who was defeated and killed, on the banks of the Idle in Nottinghamshire (617). His sons, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, yet infants, were carried into the land of the Picts, and Edwin was restored to the crown.

§ 16. Edwin subsequently became the fifth *Bretwala*, and all the Anglo-Saxon states, with the exception of Kent, acknowledged his supremacy. He distinguished himself by his influence over the other kingdoms, and by the strict execution of justice in his own. He reclaimed his subjects from the licentious life to which they had been accustomed; and it was a common saying that during his reign a woman with her infant might go on foot from sea to sea without fear of violence or robbery. A remarkable instance has been transmitted to us of the affection borne him by his servants. His enemy, Cwichelm, king of Wessex, finding himself unable to maintain open war against so powerful a prince, determined to use treachery against him, and employed one Eomer for that purpose. The assassin, having obtained admittance on pretence of delivering a message from Cwichelm, drew his dagger and rushed upon the king. His thegn Lilla, seeing his master's danger, and having no other means of defence, interposed his own person between the king and Eomer's dagger, which was pushed with such violence, that it wounded Edwin through the body of his faithful attendant (626).*

* Bede, ii. 9.

This event, as well as the birth of a daughter the same night, is said to have hastened Edwin's conversion to Christianity. After the death of his first consort, a Mercian princess, Edwin had married Æthelburga, the daughter of Æthelberht, king of Kent. This lady, emulating the glory of her mother Bertha, who had been instrumental in converting her husband and his people to Christianity, carried Paulinus, a learned bishop, along with her; and, besides stipulating for toleration in the exercise of her own religion, which was readily granted her, she used every effort to persuade the king to embrace it. Her exertions, seconded by those of Paulinus, were successful. Edwin was baptized on Easter Day, A.D. 627, at York, in a wooden church hastily erected for the occasion, and dedicated to St. Peter. Subsequently York was raised into an archbishopric; Paulinus was appointed the first northern metropolitan, and a handsome church of stone was built for his cathedral. From York, as a centre, Christianity was propagated, though not without some vicissitudes, throughout the neighbouring Anglian countries.

§ 17. Evil days for Northumbria were now approaching. Edwin was slain in battle by Penda, the powerful king of Mercia (633). Northumbria was divided into two separate kingdoms, and the people, with their monarchs, relapsed into Paganism. In 634 Oswald, the son of Æthelfrith, again united the kingdoms of Northumbria, and restored the Christian religion, in which he and his brothers had been brought up during their exile among the Picts. For, while South Britain was overrun by heathen conquerors, Christianity had been firmly planted among the Scots and Picts by the missionaries led from Ireland by St. Columba, who had his chief seat in the sacred island of Hii (Iona).* Oswald was also acknowledged as the sixth *Bretwalda*, and reigned, according to the expression of Bede, over the four nations of Britain—the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots. His reign, however, was short. He became involved in a war with Penda, A.D. 642, and, like Edwin, was defeated and slain. His corpse was treated with great brutality; but he was canonized by the church as a saint and martyr; his scattered limbs were collected as relics, and were held to be endowed with miraculous powers. Penda penetrated as far as Bamborough, the residence of the Northumbrian princes on the coast of Northumberland; but, after a fruitless siege, he was obliged to retire and evacuate the kingdom.

§ 18. On the death of Oswald his brother Oswy succeeded to his kingdom and to the dignity of *Bretwalda*. He defeated and slew the formidable Penda in a great battle near Leeds, in 655. The

* St. Columba died in the same year in which Augustine came to England (597).

reign of Oswy was rendered memorable by a most destructive pestilence called the *yellow plague*, which, commencing in 664, ravaged the whole island for twenty years, with the exception of the northern Highlands. Oswy died in 670, and with him the dignity of *Bretwalda* expired, till it was revived by Egbert.

His warlike successor, Ecgfrith, maintained and increased his power over Mercia; but his ambition to subdue the land of the Picts led to the destruction of his army and his own death on the moor of Nechtansmere (685). The blow was fatal to the supremacy of Northumbria; but her decline was gilded by the dawning glories of English literature. The last half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth century saw the foundation of the monasteries of Whitby, Jarrow, and Wearmouth, and the great school of learning at York; and produced the poems of CÆDMON and the history of BEDE.* But this very culture tempted the Northumbrian kings to lay down the sword for the cloister; and during most of the eighth century the annals of Northumbria present little more than a series of seditions, usurpations, and murders. Agriculture was neglected; the land was desolated by famine and pestilence. To fill up the measure of its calamities, the Northmen landed in Lindisfarn in 793 and in the following year at Ecgferths-Minster (probably Wearmouth), plundering and destroying the churches and monasteries in those places. After the death of Æthelred (A.D. 795) universal anarchy prevailed in Northumbria; and the people, having by so many fatal revolutions lost all attachment to their government and princes, were well prepared for subjection to a foreign yoke. This was finally imposed upon them by Ecgberht or Egbert, king of Wessex; to the history of which kingdom, as finally swallowing up all the rest, we must now hasten.

§ 19. The history of the kings of Wessex presents nothing remarkable till we arrive at the reign of Ine or Ina, who ascended the throne in 688. Ina was remarkable for his justice, policy, and prudence. He treated the Britons of Somersetshire and the adjoining districts (the *Wealas*, or Welsh-kind), whom he had subdued, with a humanity hitherto unknown to the Saxon conquerors. He allowed the proprietors to retain possession of their lands, encouraged marriages and alliances between them and his ancient subjects, and granted them the privilege of being governed by the same laws. These laws he augmented and ascertained; and, though he was disturbed by some insurrections at home, his long reign of 37 years may be regarded as one of the most glorious and most prosperous in the annals of the Anglo-Saxons. In the decline of his age he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died in 728.

* See Notes and Illustrations to chapter iv.

Egbert was the fourth in descent from Ingild, Ina's brother ; and being a young man of the most promising hopes, gave great jealousy to the reigning king, Beorhtric (or Brihtric), both because he seemed by his birth better entitled to the crown, and had acquired in an eminent degree the affections of the people. Egbert, sensible of his danger from the suspicions of Brihtric, secretly withdrew into Gaul, where he was well received by Charles the Great, or *Charlemagne*, king of the Franks. By residing in the court and serving in the armies of that prince, the most able and most generous that had appeared in Europe during several ages, Egbert acquired those accomplishments which afterwards enabled him to make such a shining figure on the throne.

It was not long before Egbert had an opportunity of displaying his natural and acquired abilities. Brihtric was accidentally killed by partaking of a cup of poison which his wife Eadburga, daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, had mixed for a young nobleman who had acquired her husband's friendship, and had on that account become the object of her jealousy. Egbert was now recalled from Gaul by the nobility of Wessex, and ascended the throne of his ancestors, A.D. 800. His future career may have been shaped by the example of Charles the Great, who, in the year of Egbert's recall, was crowned at Rome by pope Leo III., as Augustus or Emperor of the West (Christmas Day, 800). Egbert turned his arms against the Britons in Cornwall and Wales, but was recalled from these conquests by an invasion of his dominions by Beornwulf, king of Mercia. To explain that circumstance, and close the history of the other Anglo-Saxon states, we must here take a retrospective glance at the events that had happened in Mercia.

§ 20. After the death of Penda, the history of Mercia presents little of importance till we arrive at the long reign of Æthelbald (716-755). This sovereign appears to have possessed as much power as any of the Bretwaldas, though he is not called by that title. He distinguished himself by many successful conflicts with the Britons, against whom he united under his standard East Anglia, Kent, Essex, and for a while also Wessex. At one period he asserted his supremacy over all England south of the Humber, and in a charter of the year 736 signs himself "King of Britain." He was defeated at Burford in 752 by the West Saxons, and perished three years after. Æthelbald, after a short period of usurpation by Beornred, was succeeded by Offa, the most celebrated of all the Mercian princes. This monarch, after he had gained several victories over the other Anglo-Saxon princes, turned his arms against the Britons of Cambria, whom he repeatedly defeated (776). He settled the level country to the east of the mountains, between

the Wye and the Severn, with Anglians; for whose protection he constructed the mound or rampart between the mouth of the Dee and that of the Wye, known as Offa's Dyke, traces of which may still be discerned. The king of Mercia had now become so considerable, that Charles the Great entered into an alliance and friendship with him. As Charles was a great lover of learning and learned men, Offa, at his desire, sent to him Alcuin, a Northumbrian monk much celebrated for his scholarship. Alcuin received great honours from Charles, and even became his preceptor in the sciences. Charles, in return, made Offa many costly presents.

But the glory and successes of Offa were stained by the treacherous murder of Æthelberht, king of the East Angles, whilst sojourning at his court as a suitor for his daughter, and by his violent seizure of Æthelberht's kingdom in 792. Overcome by remorse, Offa endeavoured to atone for his crime by liberality to the church. He founded the monastery of St. Albans. He engaged to pay the sovereign pontiff a yearly donation for the support of an English college at Rome, and imposed the tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty pence a year.* This imposition, levied afterwards on all England, was commonly denominated *Peter's-pence*: and though conferred at first as a gift for the maintenance of a college, it was afterwards claimed as a tribute by the Roman pontiff.

Offa died in 796. The reigns of his successors deserve little attention. Mercia, instead of continuing to be the leading state among the Anglo-Saxons, fell rapidly into decay, through its internal dissensions, and was thus easily reduced by the arms of Egbert, to whose history we must now return.

§ 21. Egbert had already possessed the throne of Wessex for nearly a quarter of a century, when his dominions, as before noticed, were invaded by Beornwulf, king of Mercia. Egbert defeated the invaders at Ellendun (823), and subdued with facility the tributary kingdoms of Kent and Sussex; while the East Angles, out of hatred to the Mercian government, immediately rose in arms, and put themselves under the protection of Egbert. To engage the Mercians more easily to submission, Egbert allowed Wiglaf, their countryman, to retain the title of king, while he himself exercised the real sovereignty (828). The anarchy which prevailed in Northumbria, as already related, tempted him to carry his victorious arms still further; and the inhabitants, unable to resist his

* Less trustworthy authorities consider Offa's liberality as only a confirmation of that of Ina, king of the West-Saxons, who is also said to have founded a school

at Rome, and to have laid for its support a tax of one penny under the name of *Rom-feoh*, or Rome-scot, on every house in his kingdom.

power, and desirous of possessing some established form of government, were forward, on his first appearance, to send deputies, who submitted to his authority, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign, at Dore, in Derbyshire. Egbert, however, still conceded to Northumbria, as he had done to Mercia and East Anglia, the power of electing their own kings, who paid him tribute and were dependent on him. These three subordinate kingdoms remained under their own sovereigns, as vassals of Egbert, till they were swallowed up by the Danish invasion.

Thus all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were united under the supremacy of one king, nearly 400 years after the first arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. This event took place in the year 827.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE FRISIANS TOOK PART IN THE SAXON INVASION OF BRITAIN.

This appears from the following facts :—1. Procopius says (Bell. Goth. iv. 20) that Britain was inhabited in his time (the 6th century) by three races, the Angles, Frisians, and Britons. The omission of the Saxons, and the substitution of the Frisians, can be accounted for only on the supposition that *Frisians* and *Saxons* were convertible terms. 2. The traditions of the Frisians and Flemings claim Hengest as their ancestor, and relate that he was banished from their country. 3. In old German poetry it is expressly stated that the Frisians were formerly called Saxons. 4. Many English words and some grammatical forms are more closely allied to those of the old Friesic than to those of any other German dialect. For instance, the English sign of the infinitive mood, *to*, is found in the old Friesic, and not in any other German dialect. On this subject see Davies "On the Races of Lancashire," in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1855.

B. THE ISLE OF THANET.

The Isle of Thanet was in Anglo-Saxon times, and long afterwards, separated from the rest of Kent by a broad strait,

called by Bede the *Wantsum*. The Stour, instead of being a narrow stream, as at present, was then a broad river, opening into a wide estuary between Sandwich and Ramsgate, in the direction of Pegwell Bay. Ships coming from France and Germany sailed up this estuary, and through the river, out at the other side by Reculver. Ebbe's Fleet is the name given to a farmhouse on a strip of high ground rising out of Minster Marsh (Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 13). *Thanet* is the German name of the island. The Welsh name was *Ruim*, which probably signified a foreland, and is still preserved in the compound *Ramsgate*. In East Kent the gaps in the line of cliff which lead down to the shore are called gates ; hence *Ramsgate* is the gate or pass leading into *Ruim* (Guest, in *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute* for 1849, p. 32).

C. CELTIC WORDS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Mr. Davies, in the valuable paper already referred to, remarks : "The stoutest assertor of a pure Anglo-Saxon or Norman descent is convicted by the language of his daily life of belonging to a race that partakes largely of Celtic blood. If he calls for his coat (W. *cota*, Germ. *rock*),

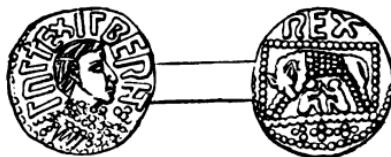
or tells of the basket of fish he has caught (W. *bargawd*, Germ. *korb*), or the cart he employs on his land (W. *cart*, from *car*, a drag or sledge, Germ. *wagen*), or of the pranks of his youth or the prancing of his horse (W. *prank*, trick; *prancie*, to frolic), or declares that he was happy when a gownsman at Oxford (W. *hap*, fortune, chance; Germ. *glück*; W. *gun*), or that his servant is pert (W. *pert*, spruce, dapper, insolent); or, descending to the language of the vulgar, he affirms that such assertions are *baldordash*, and the claim a sham (W. *baldorddus*, idle, prating; *stom*, from *shom*, a deceit, a sham), he is unconsciously maintaining the truth he would deny.

A long list of Celtic words in the English language will be found in Mr. Davies's essay, and also in another valuable paper by the late Mr. Garnett, likewise published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (vol. i. p. 171). It appears that a considerable proportion of the English words relating to the ordinary arts of life, such as agriculture, carpentry, and in general indoor and outdoor service, come from the Celtic. The following.

which might be multiplied almost indefinitely, may serve as samples:—

English.	Welsh.
basket	<i>bargawd</i> .
bran	bran (a skin of wheat).
crock, crockery	<i>crochan</i> (a pot).
drill	<i>rhill</i> (a row).
flannel	<i>gwlanen</i> (from <i>gwian</i> , wool).
gown	<i>gwn</i> (a robe).
hem	<i>hem</i> (a border).
lath	<i>llath</i> (a rod).
mattock	<i>matog</i> .
pail	<i>peael</i> .
peck	<i>peg</i> .
pitcher	<i>piser</i> (a jug).
ridge	<i>rhic</i> , <i>rhig</i> .
solder	<i>awduriaw</i> (to join, cement).
tackle	<i>taci</i> (instrument, tool).

Mr. Davies also calls attention to the fact that in the Lancashire dialect (and the same holds good of other dialects) many low, burlesque, or obscene words can be traced to a Celtic source, and this circumstance, together with the fact that no words connected with law, or government, or the luxuries of life, belong to this class, is distinct evidence that the Celtic race was held in a state of dependence or inferiority.



Silver Penny of Ethelberht, king of Kent.

Obverse: EDILBERHT . . . ; bust right. Reverse: REX; wolf and twina. (This coin, if genuine, is an evident imitation of those of Rome.)



Golden Ring of *Æthelwulf* in the British Museum. It is decorated with a blueish-black enamel, firmly incorporated into the metal by fusion.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS FROM THE UNION OF ENGLAND UNDER EGBERT TILL THE REIGN OF CANUTE THE DANE, A.D. 827-1016.

§ 1. State of the kingdom. § 2. Invasion of the Danes. Death of Egbert. § 3. Reign of *Æthelwulf*. His journey to Rome. § 4. Revolt of *Æthelbald*. § 5. Reigns of *Æthelbald*, *Æthelberht*, *Æthelred*. Continued invasions of the Danes. § 6. Accession of Alfred. Successes of the Danes. Flight of Alfred. § 7. Alfred defeats the Danes. Their settlement in East Anglia. The Danelagh. § 8. Wise regulations of Alfred. New Danish war. Death of Alfred. § 9. His character. His love of learning. § 10. His policy and legislation. § 11. Reign of Edward the Elder. § 12. Reign of *Æthelstan*. His conquests, power, and foreign connections. § 13. Reign of Edmund I. His assassination. § 14. Reign of Edred. St. Dunstan; his character and power. § 15. Reign of Edwy. His quarrel with St. Dunstan. § 16. Reign of Edgar. His good fortune. § 17. Reign of Edward. His assassination. § 18. Reign of *Æthelred II*. Invasion of the Danes. Danegeld. § 19. Massacre of the Danes. § 20. Conquest of England by Sweyn. Flight of *Æthelred*. § 21. Death of Sweyn and return of *Æthelred*. Invasion of Canute. Death of *Æthelred*. § 22. Division of England between Canute and Edmund Ironside. Murder of the latter.

§ 1. **EGBERT, A.D. 827-836.**—Although England was not firmly cemented into one state under Egbert, as is usually represented, yet the power of this monarch and the union of so many provinces opened the prospect of future tranquillity. It now appeared more than probable that the Anglo-Saxons would henceforth become formidable to their neighbours, and not be exposed to their inroads and devastations. Indeed, in the year 830, Egbert led his victorious army into North Wales, penetrated into Denbighshire, laid waste the country as far as Snowdon, and reduced the Isle of Anglesey to subjection. Of all the territory that had been comprised in Roman Britain, Strathclyde and Cumbria alone were free from vassalage to the crown of Egbert. But these expectations were soon overcast

by the appearance of the Northmen (832), who during the next two centuries kept the Anglo-Saxons in perpetual disquietude, committed the most barbarous ravages, permanently established themselves in many parts of the country, and founded a new race of kings.

§ 2. These pirates and freebooters inhabited the Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and the hordes which plundered England were drawn from all parts of both the Scandinavian peninsulas. It was, however, chiefly the Danes who directed their attacks against the coasts of England; the Norwegians made their descents for the most part upon Scotland, the Hebrides, and Ireland; while the Swedes turned their arms against the eastern shores of the Baltic. These Scandinavians were in race and language closely connected with the Anglo-Saxons. The language of all the Scandinavian nations differs only slightly from the dialects of the Germanic tribes. Both races originally worshipped the same gods, and were distinguished by the same love of enterprise and freedom. But while the Anglo-Saxons had long since abjured their ancient faith, and had acquired the virtues and vices of civilization, their Scandinavian kinsmen still remained in their savage independence, still worshipped Odin as their national god, and still regarded the plunder of foreign lands as their chief occupation and delight. In the ninth century they inspired the same terror as the Anglo-Saxons had done in the fifth. Led by the younger sons of royal houses, the Vikings * swarmed in all the harbours and rivers of the surrounding countries. Their course was marked by fire and bloodshed. Buildings sacred and profane were burnt to the ground; multitudes of people were murdered or dragged away into slavery. The terrified inhabitants fled at the approach of the enemy, and beheld in them the judgment of God foretold by the prophets. Their national flag was the figure of a black raven, woven on a blood-red ground, from whose movements the Northmen augured victory or defeat. When it fluttered its wings, they believed that Odin gave them a sign of victory; but if the wings hung down, they imagined that the god would not prosper their arms. Their swords were longer and heavier than those of the Anglo-Saxons, and their battle-axes are described as formidable weapons.

These terrible Northmen appeared nearly simultaneously on the coasts of England, France, and Russia. They wrested from the French monarch one of his fairest provinces, which was called Normandy after them; and they founded in Russia a dynasty which reigned over that country above 700 years.† Their first appearance

* *Viking* is in Danish a naval warrior, | see chapter v. The Norse dynasty in
a pirate. | Russia was founded at Novgorod by Ruric
in 862.

† For their settlement in Normandy

in England is placed by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 787; but it was not till the latter part of Egbert's reign that they commenced their regular and systematic ravages of the country. At first they made merely brief and rapid descents upon the coasts, returning to their northern homes with the plunder they had gained; but they soon began to take up their abode in England for the winter, and renewed their devastations in the spring. While England was trembling at this new evil, Egbert, who alone was able to provide effectually against it, unfortunately died (A.D. 836), and left the government to his son Æthelwulf.

§ 3. *ÆTHELWULF*, 836-858.—This prince had neither the abilities nor the vigour of his father, and was better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. He began his reign with a partition of his dominions, and delivered to his eldest son, Æthelstan, the newly conquered provinces of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. No inconvenience seems to have arisen from this partition, as the continual terror of the Danish invasions prevented all domestic dissension. These incursions now became almost annual, and, from their sudden and unexpected nature, kept the English in continual alarm. The unsettled state of his kingdom did not hinder Æthelwulf from making a pilgrimage to Rome, and taking with him his fourth and favourite son, Alfred, then only six years of age (853). He passed a twelvemonth there in exercises of devotion, and in acts of liberality to the church. Besides giving presents to the more distinguished ecclesiastics, he made a perpetual grant of 300 *mancuses** a year to that see; one-third to support the lamps of St. Peter's, another for those of St. Paul's, a third to the pope himself. It has been maintained by some writers that Æthelwulf first established tithes in England,† but this is founded on a misinterpretation of the ancient charters. Tithes were of earlier origin; but Æthelwulf appears to have established the first poor-law, by imposing on every ten hides of land the obligation of maintaining one indigent person.

§ 4. On his return from Rome (856) Æthelwulf married Judith, daughter of the French‡ king Charles the Bald, though she was then only twelve years of age; but on his landing in England he met with an opposition he little expected. His eldest son, Æthelstan, being dead, Æthelbald, his second son, who had assumed the government, formed, in concert with many of the nobles, a project

* The *mancus* was a silver coin of about the weight of a half-crown.

† What Æthelwulf appears to have done was to subject the royal demesnes to payment of tithes, from which they were exempt before.

‡ The name of France may now first be

properly used. The kingdom of France may be dated from the establishment of Charles the Bald as king of the West Franks, in the partition between him and his brothers, Lothair and Lewis, of the dominions of their grandfather, Charles the Great (843).

for excluding his father from the throne. The people were divided between the two princes, and a bloody civil war, joined to all the other calamities under which the English laboured, appeared inevitable, when AÆthelwulf consented to a compromise. Retaining the eastern portion of Wessex and Kent, the least considerable, as well as the most exposed to invasion, he conceded the rest to AÆthelbald.

§ 5. AÆTHELBALD, AÆTHELBERHT, and AÆTHELRED, A.D. 858-871.—AÆthelwulf died in 858, and was buried at Winchester; dividing his kingdom *by will* between his two sons, AÆthelbald and AÆthelberht. AÆthelbald, to the scandal of the age, married his stepmother Judith; but dying soon after, his brother AÆthelberht united Kent, Surrey, and Sussex to the kingdom of Wessex (860). At his death, AÆthelred, fourth son of AÆthelwulf, ascended the throne (866). Under these monarchs the Danes continued their ravages with renewed vigour, and penetrated into the very heart of the country. Not contenting themselves with mere incursions, they conquered a large part of England. In 867 they took York; the next year they assaulted Nottingham; in 870 they defeated and took prisoner Edmund, the king of East Anglia, to whom they proposed that he should renounce the Christian faith and rule under their supremacy. As this proposal was rejected with scorn and horror, the Danes bound the king naked to a tree, scourged and wounded him with arrows, and finally beheaded him. The constancy with which Edmund met his death caused him to be canonized as a saint and a martyr; and the place where his body was buried took the name of St. Edmundsbury, *i.e.* "St. Edmund's town" (Bury St. Edmund's), where a splendid monastery was erected in his honour. Thus ended the old line of the Uffingas, and East Anglia became a Danish possession. Led by Hálfdán and another king into Wessex, the Danes fought no less than nine battles in one year. AÆthelred died at Easter, 871, and was succeeded by his brother Alfred.

§ 6. ALFRED, A.D. 871-901. This monarch, who was born at Wantage in Berkshire, in 849, had already given proofs of those great virtues and shining talents, by which he saved his country from utter subversion and ruin. His genius was first fired by the recital of Saxon poems, which he soon learned to read, and he then proceeded to acquire the knowledge of the Latin tongue. In his twentieth year he took the field along with his brother against the pagan invaders, and it was owing to his intrepidity and courage that his countrymen gained a signal victory over the Danes at Ashdown in Berkshire (871). On the death of AÆthelred soon afterwards, he was called to the throne in preference to his brother's children, as well by the will of his father as by the wishes of the whole nation and the urgency of public affairs.

After an indecisive battle at Wilton, the Danes withdrew from Wessex for a time. But in 874 they gained full possession of Mercia, on the flight of Burhred, Alfred's brother-in-law. Thus ended the independent kingdom of Mercia ; and the Danes were now masters of the three great Anglian kingdoms, leaving to Alfred only Wessex, Kent, and Essex. The year 875 is distinguished as the date of the first naval victory known to have been won by an English king, when "Alfred went out to sea with a fleet, and fought against the crews of seven ships (in Swanage bay), and one of them he took and put the rest to flight." But fresh swarms of Northmen continually poured into the kingdom, and in 876 Wessex was again invaded by a great fleet and army under Guthorm, or Guthrum (in Danish *Gormhinrige*, "the mighty serpent"). Over-powered by superior numbers, Alfred was at length obliged to relinquish the ensigns of dignity, dismiss his servants, and seek shelter in the meanest disguises from the pursuit and fury of his enemies (878). "On a time," if we may trust the story, "being forced to hide himself with a cow-herd in Somersetshire, as he sat by the fire preparing his bow and shafts, the cow-herd's wife baking bread on the coals, threw the king's bow and shafts aside and said : 'Thou fellow, why dost thou not turn the bread which thou seest burn ; thou art glad to eat it ere it be half baked.' This woman thought not it had been king Alfred, who had made so many battles against the Danes."

§ 7. At length, collecting a few followers, Alfred retired into the centre of a bog formed by the stagnating waters of the Tone and the Parrett, in Somersetshire. Here, finding two acres of firm ground, he secured himself by a fortification, and still more by unknown and inaccessible roads which led to it, and by the forests and morasses with which it was environed. He called this place *Aethelinga-eigg*, or the Isle of Princes ; and it now bears the name of Athelney.* From this retreat he made frequent and unexpected sallies upon the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not from what quarter the blow came. Thus encouraged, his followers were prepared for more important victories. Seven weeks after Easter, Alfred sallied from Athelney, and was joined by the men of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire at "Egbert's stone" (now Brixton), on the borders of Selwood Forest. The English, who had hoped to put an end to their calamities by servile submission, had found the insolence and rapacity of the conqueror more in-

* A beautiful gold-enamelled jewel, found at this spot, and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, has the inscription "Alfred me heht gewurcan" (Alfred had me wrought). According to the testimony of his biographer, Asser, Alfred encouraged goldsmiths.

tolerable than all past fatigues and dangers. Alfred led them to Ethandfun (Edington, near Westbury), where the Danes were encamped; and taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the place, he directed his attack against the most unguarded quarter of the enemy. The Danes, surprised to see an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more astonished to hear that Alfred was at their head, made but a faint resistance, notwithstanding the superiority of their number, and were soon put to flight with great slaughter. The remainder of the routed army, with their prince, was besieged by Alfred in a fortified camp to which they fled; but, being reduced to extremity by want and hunger, they had recourse to the clemency of the victor, and offered to submit. Alfred spared their lives, and even formed a scheme for converting them from mortal enemies into faithful subjects and confederates. As the kingdom of East Anglia was desolated by the frequent inroads of the Danes, he now proposed to repeople it by settling in it Guthrum and his followers, who might serve him as a defence against any future incursions of their countrymen. But before he ratified these mild conditions with the Danes, he required, as a pledge of their submission, that they should embrace Christianity. Guthrum, with thirty of his officers, had no aversion to the proposal, and were admitted to baptism. The king answered for Guthrum at the font, and gave him the name of Athelstan. This treaty was made at Wedmore, near Athelney (A.D. 878). The greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new quarters. They had for some years occupied the towns of Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, and Nottingham, thence called the *Five Boroughs*. Alfred ceded to the new converts a considerable part of the kingdom of Mercia, retaining however the western portion, or country of the Hwiccias, in Gloucestershire. It would, however, be an error to suppose that the Danes ever really became his subjects. On the contrary, they formed an independent state, retaining their own laws and institutions, down to the latest times of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. The general boundary between the Danes and Anglo-Saxons was the old Roman road called Watling Street, which ran from London across England to Chester and the Irish Channel. The province of the Danes lying to the north and east of that road was called *Danelagh*, the *Danes' Law* or community. Receiving fresh accessions of numbers from their own country, the Danes were long able to bid defiance to all the efforts of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs to reduce them to complete obedience.

§ 8. After the treaty with Guthrum, Alfred enjoyed tranquillity for some years. He employed the interval in restoring order to his dominions, shaken by so many violent convulsions; in

establishing civil and military institutions; in habituating the minds of men to industry and justice; and in providing against the return of like calamities. After rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the reign of *Æthelwulf*, he established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He increased his fleet both in number and strength, and trained his subjects to the practice as well of sailing as of naval action. He improved the construction of his vessels, which were higher, swifter, and steadier than those of the Danes, and nearly double the length, some of them having more than 60 rowers. A fleet of 120 ships of war was stationed upon the coast; and being provided with warlike engines, as well as with expert seamen, both Frisians and English—for Alfred supplied the defects of his own subjects by engaging able foreigners in his service—he maintained a superiority over those smaller bands with which England had so often been infested. Notwithstanding these precautions, as the northern provinces of France, into which Hasting, the famous Danish chief, had penetrated, were afflicted with a grievous famine, the Danes set sail from Boulogne with a powerful fleet under his command, landed upon the coast of Kent, and committed most destructive ravages (893). It would be tedious to narrate the events of this new war, which occupied the attention of Alfred for the next few years. It is sufficient to relate that, after repeated defeats in different parts of the island, the small remains of the Danes either dispersed themselves among their countrymen in Northumbria and East Anglia, or had recourse again to the sea, where they exercised piracy under the command of Siegfrid, a Northumbrian. After Alfred had succeeded in restoring full tranquillity to England, he died (October 26th, 901), in the vigour of his age and the full strength of his faculties, and was buried at Winchester, after a glorious reign of 30 years and a half, in which he deservedly attained the appellation of **ALFRED THE GREAT**, and the title of Founder of the English Monarchy.

§ 9. The merits of this prince, both in private and public life, may with advantage be contrasted with those of any monarch which the annals of any age or nation can present us. His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration. Nature, as if desirous that so bright a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him every bodily accomplishment, vigour of limbs, dignity of shape and air, with a pleasing, engaging, and open countenance. When Alfred came to the throne he found the nation sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism, occasioned by the continued disorders in the government, and the ravages of the Danes.

Monasteries were destroyed, the monks butchered or dispersed, and their libraries burnt; and thus the only seats of learning in those ages were totally subverted. Alfred himself complains that on his accession he knew few even of the clergy south of the Thames, and not many in the northern parts, who could interpret the Latin service. He invited the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he established schools for the instruction of his people; and he enjoined by law all freeholders possessing two hides of land, or more, to send their children to school for instruction.* But the most effectual expedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning was his own example, and the assiduity with which, notwithstanding the multiplicity and urgency of his affairs, he employed himself in the pursuit of knowledge. He usually divided his time into three equal portions: one was devoted to sleep, food, and exercise; another to study and devotion; a third to the despatch of business. To measure the hours more exactly, he made use of burning tapers of equal length, which he fixed in lanterns, an expedient suited to that rude age, when dialling and the mechanism of clocks and watches were totally unknown. By such regular distribution of his time, though he often laboured under great bodily infirmities, and had fought in person 56 battles by sea and land, he was able, during a life of no extraordinary length, to acquire more knowledge, and even to compose more books, than falls to the lot of the most studious men, though blessed with the greatest leisure and application, and born in more fortunate ages. He translated into Anglo-Saxon the histories of Orosius and of Bede; to the former he prefixed a description of Germany and the north of Europe, from the narratives of the travellers Wulfstan and Ohthere. To these must be added a version of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, besides several other translations which he either made or caused to be made from the Confessions of St. Augustine, St. Gregory's Pastoral Instructions, Dialogues, &c. Nor was he negligent in encouraging the mechanical arts. He invited from all quarters industrious foreigners to repeople the country, which had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes. He introduced and encouraged manufactures, and suffered no inventor or improver of any ingenious art to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity to betake themselves to navigation, to push commerce into the most remote countries, and to acquire riches by promoting industry among their fellow-citizens. He set apart a seventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he constantly employed in rebuilding the ruined cities and mon-

* The foundation of the University of Oxford has sometimes been erroneously attributed to Alfred.

asteries. Such was the popular estimate of his character; and thus, living and dead, next to Charlemagne, Alfred was long regarded as the greatest prince that had appeared in Europe for several ages, and as one of the wisest and best that ever adorned the annals of any nation.

§ 10. Alfred's great reputation has caused many of the institutions prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons, the origin of which is lost in remote antiquity, to be ascribed to his wisdom: such as the division of England into shires, hundreds, and tithings, the law of frank-pledge, trial by jury, etc.; some of which were certainly anterior, and others subsequent, to his time. Even the code of laws which he undoubtedly promulgated was little more than a new collection of the laws of *Æthelberht*, *Offa*, and *Ina*; into which, with the assistance of his *witan*, or wise men, he inserted a few enactments only of his own.

§ 11. By his wife, *Ealhswith*, daughter of a Mercian ealdorman, Alfred left two sons and three daughters. The younger, *Æthelwald*, inherited his father's passion for letters, and lived a private life. The elder, Edward, succeeded to his father's power, being the first of that name who sat on the English throne.

EDWARD I., 901-925.—Immediately on his accession, Edward, usually called EDWARD THE ELDER, had to contend with *Æthelwald*, son of king *Æthelred*, the elder brother of Alfred, who, insisting on his preferable title to the throne, armed his partisans and took possession of Wimborne. On the approach of Edward, however, *Æthelwald* fled into Northumberland, where the people declared in his favour. Having thus connected his interests with the Danish tribes, he went beyond sea, and, collecting a body of these freebooters, excited the hopes of all those who had been accustomed to subsist by rapine and violence. He was also joined by the East Anglian Danes and the men of the Five Boroughs; but Edward overthrew them in several actions, recovered the booty they had taken, and compelled them to retire into their own country. *Æthelwald* was killed in battle (905).

The rest of Edward's reign was a scene of continued and successful action against the Danes, in which he was assisted by the activity and prudence of his sister *Æthelfled*, widow of *Æthelred*, ealdorman of Mercia. The submission of the Danes in that province, as well as of East Anglia, and the acknowledgment of Edward's supremacy by the Welsh, effected the first union of Southern Britain under an English king (922). In Edward's last year, the *Chronicle* adds, that not only all the Northumbrians—English, Danes, and Northmen—but the Strathclyde Welsh and the Scots, with their kings, “chose him for father and for lord.” From this time his



successors generally style themselves “*King of the Angles*,” or *King of the Anglo-Saxons*, that is, of all the Anglian and Saxon states, and not merely *King of the West Saxons*.* Edward died in the year 925, and was succeeded by Æthelstan, his natural son, who was thirty years old—his legitimate children being of too tender years to rule a nation so much exposed to foreign invasion and domestic convulsions. He was crowned at Kingston.

§ 12. ÆTHELSTAN, 925-940.—This monarch likewise gained numerous victories over the Danes, and is justly regarded as one of the ablest and most active of the early English kings. He completed his father’s work by annexing Northumbria, on the death of its Danish ruler, whose son fled to Constantine II., king of the Scots (927). His signal victory over the united host of the Scots, Danes, and Strathclyde Welsh, at the *battle of Brunanburh*, is celebrated in an Anglo-Saxon war-song (937).† Æthelstan made many good laws, which were really for the most part new enactments, and not mere repetitions of older customs or codes. Among them was the remarkable one, that a merchant who had made three long voyages on his own account should be admitted to the rank of a thane or gentleman. This shows that commerce was now more honoured and encouraged than it had formerly been, and implies at the same time that some of the English cities had risen to a considerable pitch of prosperity and importance. At this time a more extensive intercourse sprang up with the continent, as is shown by the manifold relations of Æthelstan with foreign courts. Several foreign princes were intrusted to his guardianship and educated at his court, among whom was his own nephew Louis, son of his sister Edgiva and Charles the Simple, king of France.

§ 13. EDMUND I., called the ELDER, 940-946.—Æthelstan died at Gloucester in the year 940, and was succeeded by his half-brother, Edmund, who was only 18 years old at his accession, and 24 at his death; yet he lived and reigned long enough to win the title of EDMUND THE MAGNIFICENT. A second song of triumph in the *Chronicle* celebrates the conquest over the revolted Danes of Northumbria and Mercia, and the recovery of the Five Boroughs, by “King Edmund, ruler of the Angles, protector of kinsmen, the refuge of warriors” (941). He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons (945), and conferred that territory on Malcolm,

* There is, however, no strict uniformity in their designation. Æthelstan styles himself “King of all Britain;” sometimes of all Albion. Edmund, Edred, and Edwy prefer the titles, *King of the Angles* and other circumjacent people. The last uses the title of *King of the Angl-Saxons, North-*

umbrians, etc. Edgar is *King of all Britain*, or *all Albion*.

† The song is preserved in the *Chronicle*. The site of the battle is unknown; but it must have been in Northumbria, and near the coast.

king of Scotland, on condition that he should do homage, and protect the north from all future incursions of the Danes. Edmund was assassinated at Pucklechurch, in the year 946, by Liofa, a notorious outlaw, whom he had sentenced to banishment, but who had the boldness to enter the hall where the king himself was dining, and seat himself at the table among his attendants. On his refusing to leave the room, the king seized him by the hair; but the ruffian, pushed to extremity, drew his dagger, and gave Edmund a wound of which he expired immediately. He was buried at Glastonbury, by St. Dunstan, the abbot.

§ 14. EDRED, 946-955.—As Edmund's issue was young and incapable of governing the kingdom, his brother Edred was raised to the throne. He completed the conquest of the Northumbrian Danes, who had revolted, and invited Eric, the son of Harold Blaatand of Denmark, to be their king. The reign of this prince, like those of his predecessors, was disturbed by the rebellions and incursions of the Danes. After subduing them, Edred, instructed by experience, took greater precautions against their future revolt. He fixed English garrisons in their most considerable towns, and placed over them an English governor,* who might watch all their motions, and suppress any insurrection on its first appearance.

Edred, who must have been very young, was guided, as his brother had been, by the great minister Dunstan, whom Edmund had made abbot of Glastonbury (943). The best evidence of Dunstan's ability is furnished by the brilliant success of Edred and Edgar, who followed his counsels, and the disasters of Edwy, who quarrelled with him. He was born of noble parents, near Glastonbury, and in the school of that monastery he studied with an ardour which for a time apparently unsettled his brain. Treated with scorn by the courtiers of *Æthelred*, he was persuaded by his kinsman Alphege, bishop of Winchester, to become a monk. The stories told of his asceticism seem to be exaggerated and opposed to his genial nature, his love of music and society, and his activity in work, both with head and hands, in which he was followed by a train of pupils. He returned to court on the accession of Edmund; was falsely accused; and, finding his fortune blasted by such scandals, he was on the eve of returning to the cloister, when a narrow escape which befel the king in hunting struck him with

* This governor was not called *Ealdorman*, but by the Danish title of *Earl* (*Jarl*). Under Edgar the earldom was divided into three parts; the southern, between the Humber and Tees, the old kingdom of Deira, becoming the earldom of York. The northern, or Lothian, from the

Tweed to the Forth, was probably granted to the Scotch king Kenneth; the middle part, between Tees and Tweed, formed the new earldom of Northumberland, from which the part between Tees and Tyne was afterwards taken as the patrimony of St. Cuthbert and bishopric of Durham.

remorse for his suspicions, and on the same day Edmund made Dunstan abbot of Glastonbury. The new abbot turned his attention to the reform of the monasteries, and the revival of learning, which had again fallen since the time of Alfred. He adopted the more rigid rules maintained by the Benedictines of Gaul, and introduced them into the convents of Glastonbury, Abingdon, and elsewhere. These religious houses had fallen into ruins during the incursions of the Danes, and their congregations had been dispersed. It was Dunstan's object to restore them, and to replace the secular clergy, who had taken possession of the revenues, by the monastic. His progress was somewhat retarded by the death of Edred, who expired at Frome, in 955, after a reign of nine years. His children being infants, his nephew Edwy, son of Edmund, was raised to the throne.

§ 15. EDWY, 955-958.—Edwy, at the time of his accession, was not above fifteen or sixteen years of age.* According to the story, told some forty years afterwards, he had become entangled in an intrigue with a lady, who desired to secure his hand for her daughter, called Elgiva. On the day of his coronation, when his nobility were banqueting in a great hall, Edwy, forgetful of the dignity due to the occasion, had retired to this lady's apartment. This slight to the ealdormen, bishops, and great men was regarded as a gross insult, and two of their number were deputed to remonstrate with the king, and persuade him to reassume his seat at the banquet. Dunstan, with the bishop of Lichfield, proceeded to the apartment, upbraided Edwy for his absence, and, with bitter reproaches to the lady, brought back the king into the presence of the nobles with no little roughness. Edwy, at the suggestion of the lady, found an opportunity of revenge; and, either on the complaint of discontented monks of Glastonbury, or some charge affecting the administration of the late king's treasure, which had been placed in that abbey, Dunstan was driven out of England, and fled to Ghent (956).†

Headed by Odo the archbishop, a Dane, the Northumbrians and the Mercians rose in rebellion, and proclaimed Edgar, the brother of Edwy, as their king (958). They were joined by the East Anglians, and in short by all England north of the Thames. Edgar recalled Dunstan, and, in a council assembled at Bradford, gave him the sees of London and Worcester. Dunstan would have excused himself in this violation of the canons, but his objections were overruled by others, who referred to the examples of St. John and St. Paul. Even in

* Both *Æthelweard* (the only contemporary historian who was not a priest or monk) and *Henry of Huntingdon* speak well of Edwy, and lament his early death.

† The whole story is traditional, and is told in different ways.

the southern provinces the monastic party now gained the ascendancy. Edwy, finding it vain to resist, was obliged to consent to a divorce from Elgiva, which was pronounced by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury (958). The fate of the unhappy Elgiva is unknown; for the tales of inhuman cruelties inflicted on her by the primate's order, as well as of the murder of Edwy, are found only in late and doubtful authorities. It is only known for certain, that Edwy's divorce was followed by the death both of the archbishop and the king in 958 or 959. He was succeeded by his brother Edgar.

§ 16. EDGAR, 959-975.—Edgar, surnamed the *Peaceable*, already king of the Mercians and Northumbrians (957), now succeeded to Wessex, with the consent of the whole kingdom.* One of his first acts was to promote Dunstan to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Of the first five years of his reign we have no memorials, except of his co-operation in the ecclesiastical reforms then in progress. To restore the monks, he displaced and degraded the secular clergy; he favoured the scheme for dispossessing the secular canons of all the great churches; and he bestowed pre-ferment on none but their partisans. Above forty Benedictine convents are said to have been founded or repaired by Edgar. These merits have procured for him the highest panegyrics from the monkish historians. Freed from all disturbance on the side of the Danes, Edgar was enabled to employ his vast armaments against the neighbouring sovereigns; and the king of Scotland, the princes of Wales, of the Isle of Man, and of the Orkneys, were reduced to submission.† After his coronation at Bath (972), he led his forces to Chester, where he was attended by six or eight vassal kings, who rowed his barge up the Dee to the abbey of St. John the Baptist, Edgar holding the helm.

The virtues of Edgar have been exaggerated by the monastic annalists. Even the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which again breaks forth into song in his praise, confesses that he loved foreign vices, and brought heathen manners and pernicious people into the land. Of the severity with which he enforced order we have an example in the devastation of Thanet (969).‡ But the general excellence of his rule is attested by his extant laws, and by the consolidation of the various people under his authority. "One thing I would have common," he declared in the assembled Witan, "to all my subjects,

* Florence of Worcester.

† In his charters, Edgar assumes the titles of "King of the Angles and all the nations round about," "Ruler and Lord of the whole Isle of Albion," "Basilus and Imperator of all Britain." The Greek

Bασιλεὺς (king) was the title of the Emperor of the East, as *Imperator* was of the Western Emperor.

‡ The people had plundered some Norse traders, who were under the king's protection.

to English, Danes, and Britons in every part of my dominions; that both rich and poor possess without molestation what they have rightly acquired, and that no thief find refuge for securing his stolen property." His reign forms an epoch in English history, and in the growth of monastic influence.

It is popularly stated that the extirpation of wolves in England was effected in this reign by converting the money payment imposed upon the Welsh princes into an annual tribute of 300 wolves' heads; but these animals were found in the island at a much later period.

§ 17. Edgar died in the year 975, in the thirty-third year of his age, leaving two sons: Edward, aged thirteen, whom he had had by his first wife, Æthelfleda; and Æthelred, then only five, by Elfrida. There can be no doubt that the former had the best claim to the succession; and though Elfrida attempted to raise her son to the throne, Edward was crowned at Kingston by the vigorous determination of Dunstan.

EDWARD II., called the MARTYR, 975-979.—The kingdom was now again divided into two parties, and the short reign of Edward presents nothing memorable except the struggles between Dunstan and the Benedictines on the one hand, and the secular clergy on the other, who in some parts of Mercia had succeeded in expelling the monks. To settle this controversy several synods were held, and Dunstan is said to have wrought miracles.

The death of young Edward was memorable and tragical.* He was hunting one day in Dorsetshire, and being led by the chase near Corfe Castle, where his stepmother Elfrida resided, he took the opportunity of paying her a visit, unattended by any of his retinue, and thus presented her with the opportunity she had long desired. Mounting his horse to depart, he called for a cup of wine, and while he was holding it to his lips, a servant of Elfrida approached and stabbed him behind. The prince, finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse, but growing faint from loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, his foot stuck in the stirrup, and he was dragged along until he expired. Tracked by the blood, his body was found and privately interred at Wareham. The youth and innocence of this prince, with his tragical death, obtained for him the appellation of "Martyr."

§ 18. ÆTHELRED II., 979-1016.—Æthelred II., the son of Elfrida, called by historians "the Unready,"† now ascended the throne,

* This is the story of William of Malmesbury. The early authorities agree as to the place, but not as to the persons who instigated the murder.

† This epithet means "counsellless" or "bad counsellor," a play upon the name of Æthelred "noble in counsel," who ruined his country through *wærud*, "want

at the early age of ten. Dunstan, who placed the crown on his head at Kingston, lived nine years longer, and died May 19, 988. A period, however, was approaching, when the heat of ecclesiastical disputes had to give place to the more important question respecting the very existence of the nation. Shortly after Æthelred's accession, the Danes and Northmen renewed their incursions, and Æthelred's long reign presents little else than a series of struggles with those piratical and pagan invaders. He adopted the fatal expedient of buying off their attacks, thus foolishly inviting their renewal.* In the year 993, having by their previous incursions become well acquainted with the defenceless condition of England, the Danes made a powerful descent under the command of Sweyn, king of Denmark, and of Anlaf or Olaf, afterwards king of Norway; and, sailing up the Humber, they spread devastation on every side. The following year they ventured to attack the centre of the kingdom; entered the Thames with 94 vessels, laid siege to London, and threatened it with total destruction. But the citizens, firmly united among themselves, made a bolder defence than the nobility and gentry; and the besiegers, after suffering the greatest hardships, were disappointed in their attempt. The Danes proceeded to plunder other quarters, until they were bought off with 16,000 pounds of silver. But in a few years they returned again, and in 997, and the five following years, committed dreadful devastations in various parts, till bought off again by another payment of 24,000 pounds. This tribute gave rise to an odious and oppressive impost, which, under the name of *Danegeld*, or Dane-money, continued to be levied on the laity long after the occasion for its imposition had ceased. Observing the close connection maintained among all the Danes, however divided in government or situation, Æthelred, being now a widower, made his addresses to Emma, sister to Richard II., duke of Normandy, in the hope that such an alliance might serve to check the incursions of the Northmen. He succeeded in his suit: the princess came over to England and was married to Æthelred in 1002. She received the English name of *Ælfgifu* or Elgiva. From this marriage may be dated the Norman influence in England. The French language began to be spoken at the court, and the French followers of Emma were placed in high offices, both in church and state.

§ 19. Shortly after this marriage, Æthelred formed a design of
of counsel" or "evil counsel," a term which
the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle expressly
applies to his foolish policy towards the
Danes (s. a. 1011: "All these calamities
befell us through *unrede*."). There can
be little doubt of the origin of this epithet;

but it is never applied to this king by the
earliest and best authorities.

* He was not the first of the Anglo-
Saxon kings who had recourse to this ex-
pedient.

murdering the Danes throughout his dominions. But though ancient historians speak of this massacre as universal, such a representation of the matter is absolutely impossible, as the Danes formed a large part of the population of Northumbria and East Anglia, and were very numerous in Mercia. The animosity between the inhabitants of English and Danish race had, from repeated injuries, risen to a great height; especially through the conduct of those Danish troops which the English monarchs had long been accustomed to keep in pay for their excellence as soldiers. These mercenaries, who were quartered about the country, committed many acts of violence. They had attained to such a height of luxury, according to later English writers, that they combed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, and frequently changed their clothes! Secret orders were given to commence the massacre on the festival of St. Brice (November 13th, 1002). The rage of the populace, excited by so many injuries, sanctioned by authority, and stimulated by example, spared neither sex nor age, and was not satiated without the tortures as well as death of the unhappy victims. Even Gunhilda, sister to the king of Denmark, who had married earl Paling, and had embraced Christianity, was seized and condemned to death, after she had seen her husband and her children butchered before her face. In the agonies of despair, this unhappy princess foretold that her murderer would soon be avenged by the total ruin of the English nation.

§ 20. Never was prophecy more strictly fulfilled, and never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to its authors. Sweyn and his Danes appeared the next year off the western coast, and took full revenge for the slaughter of their countrymen. Twice was Æthelred reduced to the infamy of purchasing a precarious peace. At length, towards the close of 1013, Sweyn being virtually sovereign of England, and, the English nobility everywhere swearing allegiance to him, Æthelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and of the treachery of his own subjects, fled into Normandy, whither he had already sent queen Emma and her two sons Alfred and Edward.

§ 21. The king had not been above six weeks in Normandy when he heard of the death of Sweyn, who expired at Gainsborough before he had been crowned, or had found time to establish himself in his newly acquired dominions. He is not reckoned among the kings of England, but is called by the chroniclers "Sweyn the Tyrant" (*i.e.* Usurper). The English prelates and nobility, or the Witan, as they were called, taking advantage of this event, sent over a deputation to Normandy inviting Æthelred to return. He complied, and was joyfully received by the people, in the spring of

1014, with a promise of greater fidelity on their part and of juster government on his. On his death-bed at Gainsborough, Sweyn, with the approbation of the assembled Danes, named his son Canute,* who had accompanied him in the expedition, as his successor. But on the approach of *Æthelred*, who displayed on this occasion unwonted celerity, Canute embarked with his forces for Denmark. A ray of hope seemed now to dawn on England, but it was only transient. *Æthelred* soon relapsed into his usual incapacity and indolence; and the kingdom became a scene of internal feud, treachery, and assassination. In 1015 Canute returned with a large fleet and overran Wessex. Edmund, the king's eldest son, made fruitless attempts to oppose his progress; but, unsupported by his father and the nation, he was obliged to disband the greater part of his army and retire with the remainder to London, where *Æthelred* had shut himself up. Hither also Canute directed his course, in the hope of seizing *Æthelred*'s person; but the king expired before his arrival, after an unhappy and inglorious reign of 37 years.

§ 22. EDMUND IRONSIDE, April 23rd to Nov. 30th, 1016.—By the small party who had remained faithful to the royal cause, Edmund, whose hardy valour procured him the name of Ironside, was now elected king. Meanwhile Canute had arrived at London, where, as the bridge impeded his operations, he caused a canal to be dug on the south bank of the river, through which he conveyed his ships. He also surrounded the city on the land side with a deep trench, hoping by these means to cut off the supplies. But these measures failing, as well as a general assault, Canute proceeded to the western districts, where Edmund was engaging the Danes with considerable success. But, after the total defeat of his army at Assington in Suffolk, the Danish and English nobility obliged the two kings to come to a compromise, and divide the kingdom between them. Canute obtained Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria, which he had entirely subdued; the southern parts were assigned to Edmund. This prince died about a month afterwards, on the 30th of November, murdered, as was said, by the machinations of Edric, the ealdorman of Mercia, who thus made way for the succession of Canute the Dane to the crown of all England.

* Knut is the proper orthography of | should be pronounced with the accent on the name. Canute is a corruption, and | the last syllable.



Seal of Edward the Confessor. (British Museum.)
SIGILLVM RADWARDI ANGLORVM BASILEI : King seated with sceptre and sword.

CHAPTER IV.

DANES AND ANGLO-SAXONS FROM THE REIGN OF CANUTE TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST, A.D. 1016-1066.

§ 1. Accession of Canute. First acts of his reign. Marries Emma of Normandy. § 2. Rise of earl Godwin. § 3. Canute's devotion. His reproof of his courtiers. § 4. He reduces the king of Scotland. His death. § 5. Division of the kingdom. Reign of Harold Harefoot. § 6. Reign of Hardicanute. § 7. Accession of Edward the Confessor. § 8. Influence of the Normans. Revolt and banishment of earl Godwin. § 9. William, duke of Normandy, visits England. Return of earl Godwin: his death. Rise of Harold. § 10. Siward restores Malcolm, king of Scotland. § 11. Edward invites his nephew from Hungary. § 12. Harold's visit to Normandy. § 13. Harold reduces Wales; condemns his brother Tosti. Aspires to the succession. Death of Edward. § 14. His character. § 15. Accession of Harold. William assembles a fleet and army. Invasion of Tosti and of Harold Hardrada. Battle of Stamford Bridge. § 16. Norman invasion. Battle of Hastings. Death of Harold.

I. THE DANISH KINGS, A.D. 1016-1042.

§ 1. CANUTE, 1016-1035.—Edmund Ironside left a brother, Edwy, and two half-brothers, Alfred and Edward, the sons of Æthelred by his second wife, Emma of Normandy; as well as two infant sons of his own, Edmund and Edward. But immediately after his death,

Canute assembled the nobles and clergy at London, and, partly by promises and partly by intimidation, was elected king, thus adding the dominions of Edmund to his own. This was the first time that a king of Wessex had been elected outside the line of Cerdic. To add a colour of legitimate right, the assembly is said to have declared falsely that Edmund had never designed his kingdom to pass to his brothers, and had appointed Canute to be guardian to his children. Edwy, the brother of Edmund, was outlawed and soon afterwards murdered (1017). Canute sent Edmund's children to his half-brother Olaf, king of Sweden, with a secret request to put them to death; but Olaf, too generous to comply, had them conveyed to Stephen, king of Hungary, to be educated at his court.

As Alfred and Edward were protected by their uncle Richard, duke of Normandy, Canute, to acquire the friendship of the duke, paid his addresses to queen Emma, promising to leave the children whom he should have by that marriage in possession of the crown of England. Canute was now about 22, and Emma several years older.* Richard complied with his demand, and sent over his sister Emma to England, where she was soon after married to Canute, notwithstanding that he had been the mortal enemy of her former husband (1017).

To reward his Danish followers, Canute found himself compelled to load the people with heavy exactions. At one time he demanded the sum of 72,000 pounds, besides 10,500 more which he levied on London alone. But resolving, like a wise prince, that the English should be reconciled to the Danish yoke by the justice and impartiality of his administration, he sent back to Denmark as many of his followers as could safely be spared. He made no distinction between Danes and English in the execution of justice: and he took care, by strict enforcement of the laws, to protect the lives and properties of all. In his reign England was divided into four great earldoms—Northumberland, East Anglia (including Essex), Mercia, and Wessex (including all England south of the Thames), 1017. Over the first two Canute set Danes, Eric (his sister's husband) and Thurkill. In the same year the English earl of Mercia, Edric, suffered the death he had long deserved for his repeated treasons to Æthelred and Edmund, and his earldom was given to Leofwine. The earldom of Wessex, which Canute had at first kept in his own hands, was bestowed in 1020 on GODWIN, the son of

* Canute had two sons, Harold and Sweyn, by another wife or concubine, Elgiva of Northampton, who was still alive. The time of these sons' birth is not known with certainty; but that one at

least was already born is probable from Emma's stipulation for the succession of her own offspring. It was doubted by many whether they were really the sons of Canute.

Wulfnoth, an Englishman,* who had already won the king's favour and been made an earl, as some say, of Kent, early in Canute's reign.

§ 2. When Canute had settled his power in England beyond all danger of a revolution, he appears in 1019 to have made a voyage to Denmark ; and the necessity of his affairs caused him frequently to repeat the visit, in order to make head against the Wends,† as well as against the kings of Sweden and Norway. On one of these occasions, earl Godwin, observing a favourable opportunity, attacked the enemy in the night, drove them from their trenches, and obtained a decisive victory. Next morning, Canute, seeing the English camp entirely abandoned, imagined that his disaffected troops had deserted, and was agreeably surprised to find that they were engaged in pursuit of the discomfited enemy. Gratified with this success, and the manner of obtaining it, he bestowed Gytha, the sister of earl Ulf (who was the king's brother-in-law), in marriage upon Godwin, and treated him ever after with entire confidence and regard.

§ 3. This semi-barbarous monarch, who had committed numberless murders and waded through slaughter to a throne, had nevertheless many of the qualities of a great sovereign. He had become a Christian either before or at the time of his first election as Æthelred's successor. He built churches, endowed monasteries, and even undertook one, if not two, pilgrimages to Rome. It appears, from a letter which he addressed to the English clergy, that he must have been in that city in the year 1027, when the emperor Conrad II. was also there for the purpose of his coronation. From the same letter we learn that he had obtained certain privileges for English pilgrims going to Rome, and an abatement of the large sums exacted from the archbishops for their palls. On the other hand, he enforced the payment of Peter's pence and other ecclesiastical dues.

As an evidence of his magnanimity, tradition refers to Canute the following story :—When some of his courtiers had launched out one day in admiration of his grandeur, he commanded his chair to be set on the sea-shore. As the tide rose and the waters approached, he bade them recede and obey the voice of their lord, feigning

* The origin of Earl Godwin still remains a problem. His father, Wulfnoth, is made by some of the early chroniclers a churl (or peasant) near Sherborne ; by others, a nephew of Edric, the traitor earl of Mercia ; by others, a man of rank or a child—("A title nearly synonymous with atheling, but not confined to

royalty."—THORPE), "Child (child) Wulfnoth, the South Saxon." Mr. Freeman inclines to accept the last statement (*Norman Conquest*, vol. i. Appendix F).

† The name of *Wends* was given by the Germans and Scandinavians to their Slavonic neighbours.

to sit some time in expectation of their submission. But as the sea still advanced and began to wet his feet, he turned to his courtiers, and said, "The power of kings is but vanity. He only is king who can say to the ocean, *Thus far shalt thou go and no farther.*" And from that time he never bore his crown.

§ 4. The only memorable action which Canute performed, after his return from Rome, was an expedition against Malcolm II., king of Scotland, whom he reduced to subjection, with two under kings, one of whom was Macbeth (1031). Canute died at Shaftesbury in 1035, leaving by his first marriage two sons, Sweyn and Harold, and by Emma another son, named, from his bodily strength, Harthacnut or Hardicanute. To the last he had given Denmark; on Sweyn he had bestowed Norway; and Harold was in England at the time of his father's death.

§ 5. HAROLD I. HAREFOOT, 1035-1040.—According to Canute's marriage contract with Emma, Hardicanute should have succeeded him on the English throne: but the absence of that prince in Denmark, as well as his unpopularity among the Danish part of the population, caused him to lose one-half of the kingdom. Leofric, now earl of Mercia, supported the pretensions of Harold, whose presence in England was of great service to his cause, whilst the powerful earl Godwin embraced the cause of Hardicanute. A civil war was, however, averted by a compromise. It was agreed that Harold should retain London, with all the provinces north of the Thames, while the possession of the south should remain to Hardicanute. Till that prince should appear and take possession of his dominions, Emma fixed her residence at Winchester, and established her authority over her son's share of the partition, aided by Godwin, who governed it already as earl.

Edward and Alfred, Emma's sons by Æthelred, still cherished hopes of ascending the throne. Their mother had sacrificed their claims on her marriage with Canute. Their uncle, duke Robert of Normandy, had threatened, or even attempted, an invasion on their behalf (1029 or 1030).* The details of the story are differently told, but the English account is as follows: "This year the innocent ætheling Alfred, son of king Æthelred, came hither (1036), and would go to his mother (Emma), who resided at Winchester; but this earl Godwin would not permit, nor other men also, who could exercise much power; because the public voice was then really in favour of Harold, though it was unjust. Godwin hindered him, set him in durance, and dispersed his companions. Some were slain, some sold for money, some burned, blinded, mutilated, and scalped.

* The obscurity of this period is due to the great conflict of the authorities | English, Norman, German, and Scandinavian. (See Note A.)

No bloodier deed was done in this country since the Danes came. The ætheling was carried to Ely. As soon as the ship neared the land, they blinded him and committed him to the monks. After he died he was buried at the west end nigh to the steeple in the south porch.* The death of Alfred resulted in the election of Harold, who was "chosen over all for king;" the people forsaking Hardicanute "because he stayed too long in Denmark" (1037). Fearful lest a similar fate should befall Edward, his mother sent him over to the continent. She herself shortly after was driven out, "without any mercy, against the stormy weather," and took refuge with count Baldwin at Bruges. These were the only memorable actions performed in the reign of Harold, who, from his agility in hunting, apparently his only accomplishment, obtained the name of *Harefoot*. He died on the 17th March, 1040.

§ 6. HARDICANUTE, 1040-1042.—On the intelligence of his brother's death, Hardicanute immediately proceeded to London, where he was acknowledged king of all England without opposition. His first act was to disinter the body of his brother Harold. The corpse was decapitated and thrown into the Thames; but being found by a fisherman, was buried by the Danes of London in their cemetery at St. Clement's. Little memorable occurred in this reign. Hardicanute renewed the imposition of *Danegeld*, and obliged the nation to pay a great sum of money to the fleet which brought him from Denmark. The discontent in consequence ran high in many places, and especially at Worcester, which was set on fire and plundered by the soldiers. Hardicanute died suddenly about two years after his accession, whilst in the act of raising the cup to his lips at a marriage festival at Lambeth (A.D. 1042).

II. THE KINGDOM IS RESTORED TO THE LINE OF CERDIC, A.D. 1042-1066.

§ 7. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042-1066.—The death of Hardicanute seemed to present to the English a favourable opportunity for recovering their liberty and shaking off the Danish yoke. Edward the ætheling was in England on his half-brother's demise; and though the son of Edmund Ironside was the more direct heir of the West Saxon family, his absence in so remote a country as Hungary appeared a sufficient reason for his exclusion. The claims of Edward were supported by Godwin, who only stipulated that he should marry the earl's daughter Editha, as he did two years later. Edward was crowned king with every demonstration of duty and

* This account of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* agrees with Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham. For fuller discussion see Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i. pp. 542-560.

affection ; and, by the mildness of his character, he soon reconciled the Danes to his administration.

One of the first acts of Edward was to strip his mother Emma of the immense treasures which she had amassed, "because she had done for him less than he would, before he was king, and also since." She was immured for the remainder of her life at Winchester, but he carried his rigour against her no further. As she was unpopular in England, the king's severity, though exposed to some censure, met with no general disapprobation.

§ 8. But, though freed from the incursions of the Danes, the nation was not yet delivered from the dominion of foreigners. Edward, having been educated in Normandy, had contracted an affection for the manners of that country. The court was filled with Normans, who by their superior culture and the partiality of Edward soon rendered their language, customs, and laws fashionable in England. The church, above all, felt the influence of these strangers, some of whom were appointed to ecclesiastical dignities, and Robert, a Norman, was even promoted to the see of Canterbury (1051). These proceedings paved the way to the Norman Conquest, and excited the jealousy of earl Godwin and the English. Besides the southern parts of Wessex, Godwin had the counties of Kent and Sussex under his government. His eldest son, Sweyn, possessed the same authority in the northern parts of Wessex and in the south of Mercia, that is, in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloucester, Somerset, and Hereford; whilst Harold, his second son, was earl of East Anglia, including Essex. The enormous influence of this family was supported by immense possessions and powerful alliances; and the abilities, as well as ambition, of Godwin contributed to render him still more dangerous. He was opposed by Leofric and Siward, the earls of Mercia and Northumbria; and another earldom (including the shires of Warwick and Worcester) was carved out of Mercia for Ralph, the king's nephew, a Frenchman.*

It was not long before the animosity against the Norman favourites broke out into action. Eustace, count of Boulogne, the stepfather of Ralph the earl, having paid a visit to the king, passed by Dover on his return (1051). One of his train, being refused admittance into a lodging which had been assigned to him, attempted to make his way by force, and in the contest wounded the owner of the house. The inhabitants flew to his assistance; a tumult ensued, in which nearly

* He was the son of Goda, the king's sister, by her first husband, Drogo of Mantes, and commanded the Norman mercenaries. As leaders in war, the earls were also called dukes (from the Latin *dux*), just as the ealdormen had been called *heretogas*.

20 persons were killed on each side; and Eustace, overpowered by numbers, was obliged to save his life by flight from the fury of the populace. On the complaint of Eustace, the king gave orders to Godwin, in whose government Dover lay, to punish the inhabitants; but "the earl would not agree, because he was loath to injure his own followers." Touched in so sensible a point, Edward threatened Godwin with the utmost effects of his resentment if he persisted in his disobedience.

Whatever may have been the faults of Godwin, he had the good fortune, the policy, or the skill, to appear in the present conjuncture as the patriotic defender of the English cause against the foreign predilections of his sovereign. He had now gone too far to retreat, and therefore he and his sons, Sweyn and Harold, assembled their forces on the Cotswold Hills, for the purpose of overawing the king and compelling him to redress the grievances of the nation. But the two earls, Leofric of Mercia, and Siward of Northumberland, with the French earl Ralph, embraced the king's cause, and assembled a numerous army. To avoid bloodshed it was agreed, on the proposal of Leofric, to refer the quarrel to the Witan; but when Godwin approached London for that purpose, his followers dropped away, and he found himself outnumbered. Sweyn was declared an outlaw; Godwin and Harold were summoned to take their trial, but, refusing to appear, unless hostages were given for their safety, they were ordered to leave the country within five days. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, gave protection to Godwin and his three sons, Sweyn, Gurth, and Tostig, the last of whom had married the daughter of that prince; Harold and Leofwine, his two other sons, took shelter in Ireland with Dermot, king of Leinster. The estates of the father and sons were confiscated, their governments given to others; queen Editha was shut up in a monastery at Wherwell, near Andover, where the king's sister was abbess. The greatness of this family, once so formidable, seemed now to be totally supplanted and overthrown (1051).

§ 9. The Norman influence was now again in the ascendant; and before the end of the year, William, duke of Normandy, the king's near kinsman, paid a visit to Edward.* But Godwin had fixed his authority on too firm a basis, and was too strongly supported by alliances both foreign and domestic, not to occasion further disturbances, and make new efforts for his re-establishment. He fitted out a fleet in the Flemish harbours, and being joined at the Isle of Wight by his son Harold, with a squadron collected in Ireland, he entered the Thames, and, appearing before London, where the

* William had become duke of Normandy by his father Robert's death in the year of Canute's death (1035).

people were favourably disposed to him, threw everything into confusion (1052). The king alone seemed resolved to defend himself to the last extremity; but the interposition of the English nobility, many of whom favoured Godwin's pretensions, made Edward hearken to terms of accommodation, and it was agreed that hostages should be given on both sides. At a *witena-gemot* held outside the walls of London, Godwin and his sons were declared innocent of the charges laid against them, and were restored to their honours and possessions; the French were outlawed; the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London and Dorchester escaped into Normandy. Godwin's death, which happened soon after, while he was sitting at table with the king, prevented him from further establishing the authority he had acquired (1053). As his son Sweyn had died on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Godwin was succeeded in his governments and offices by his son Harold, now earl of Wessex, who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father, and was superior to him in address, in insinuation, and in virtue. By a modest and gentle demeanour he acquired the goodwill of Edward, and, gaining every day new partisans by his bounty and affability, he proceeded in a more silent and therefore a more dangerous manner to augment his authority.

§ 10. The death of Siward of Northumbria, in 1055, removed the last obstacle to Harold's ambition. Besides his other merits, Siward had acquired honour by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprise undertaken during the reign of Edward. Duncan I., king of Scotland, the successor of Malcolm II., was a young prince of a gentle disposition, but possessed not the genius or firmness required for governing so turbulent a country. Macbeda (Macbeth), the powerful chief of Moray, was married to Gruach (the Lady Macbeth of Shakspere), whose descent from Kenneth III. constituted a claim to the crown for Lulach, her son by a former marriage. In one of the frequent petty wars of that turbulent realm, Duncan was defeated and murdered on his retreat into Moray; Malcolm Canmore (i.e. Greathead), his son and heir, was chased into England, and Macbeth seized the kingdom, which he ruled ably and well (1040). Some years later, Siward, whose kinswoman was married to Duncan, avenged, by Edward's orders, the royal cause. He marched an army into Scotland, defeated Macbeth at Dunsinane (1054), and set Malcolm on the throne. Macbeth and Lulach prolonged the contest till Macbeth was killed at the battle of Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire (1056 or 1058). Siward died the year after the battle of Dunsinane; and as his son, Waltheof, appeared too young to be intrusted with the government of Northumberland, it was obtained by Harold's influence for his own brother Tostig.

§ 11. Meanwhile Edward, feeling himself far advanced in life, began to think of appointing a successor, and sent a deputation to Hungary to invite over his nephew Edward, called the "Stranger," or the "Outlaw," son of his elder brother, Edmund Ironside, and the only remaining heir of the West-Saxon line. That prince, whose succession to the crown would have been easy and undisputed, came to England with his young children, Edgar the ætheling, Margaret, and Christina; but his death, which happened a few days after his arrival (1057), threw the king into fresh difficulties. He saw that Harold was tempted by his great power and ambition to aspire to the throne, and that Edgar, a mere child, was very unfit to oppose the pretensions of so popular and enterprising a rival. In this uncertainty he is said to have cast his eye towards his kinsman, William, duke of Normandy, as the only person whose power, reputation, and capacity could support any arrangement which might be made in his favour, to the exclusion of Harold and his family.

§ 12. In communicating his design to William, Edward, according to some accounts, chose Harold himself as his ambassador, commanding him to deliver to the duke a sword and a ring as pledges of his intention. But though Harold may have paid a visit to the court of the duke of Normandy, the circumstances attending it, and even the date, are involved in obscurity. The more probable account is that Harold was shipwrecked on the coast of Ponthieu, and thrown into prison by count Guy, until his ransom was paid. William claimed the prisoner from his vassal, and received Harold with honour and kindness; but he employed this opportunity to extort from Harold a promise that he would support his pretensions to the English throne, and made him swear that he would deliver up the castle of Dover. To render the oath more obligatory, he employed an artifice well suited to the superstition of the age. Unknown to Harold, he conveyed under the altar, on which Harold agreed to swear, the reliques of certain martyrs; and when Harold had taken the oath, William showed him the reliques, and admonished him to observe religiously an engagement which had been ratified by so tremendous a sanction. Harold, dissembling his concern, renewed his professions, and was dismissed with all the marks of confidence by the duke, who promised to maintain him in all his possessions, and give him his daughter Adeliza in marriage.*

§ 13. In what manner Harold observed the oath thus extorted from him by fear, we shall presently see. Meanwhile, he continued to practise every art of popularity; and fortune threw two incidents

* As no altar in those days was without its reliques, this could be no cause for Harold's astonishment.

in his way by which he was enabled to acquire fresh favour. The first of these was the reduction of Wales; the second related to his brother Tostig, who, as earl of Northumberland, had acted with so much cruelty and injustice, that the inhabitants, taking advantage of his absence in the south, deposed him, and offered the earldom to Morcar, grandson of Leofric (1065). As Morcar led an army of his new subjects southwards, he was joined by his brother Edwin, the earl of Mercia. When met at Northampton by Harold, who had been commissioned by the king to reduce and chastise the Northumbrians, Morcar made so vigorous a remonstrance against Tostig's tyranny, that Harold found it prudent to abandon his brother's cause; and, returning to Edward, he persuaded him to pardon the Northumbrians and confirm Morcar in his new government. Tostig, in rage, took shelter in Flanders with earl Baldwin, his brother-in-law. Emboldened by these successes, as well as by the friendship of Morcar and Edwin, and his marriage with the widow of king Griffith, Edwin's sister, Harold now openly aspired to the crown. Broken with age and infirmities, Edward died on the 5th of January, 1066, in the 65th year of his age and 25th of his reign. By some authorities he is said, on his deathbed, to have recommended Harold for his successor.

§ 14. This prince, who about a century after his death was canonized with the surname of "the Confessor," by a bull of pope Alexander III., was the last of the direct Saxon line that ruled in England. Though his reign was peaceable and fortunate, he owed his prosperity less to his own abilities than to the conjuncture of the times. The Danes, employed in other enterprises, no longer attempted those incursions which had been so troublesome to all his predecessors, and so fatal to some of them. The facility of his disposition made him acquiesce in the designs of Godwin and his son Harold; and their abilities, as well as their power, enabled them to preserve peace and tranquillity at home. The most commendable circumstance of Edward's government was his attention to the administration of justice, and his compilation, for that purpose, of a body of laws, collected from the laws of *Æthelbert*, *Ina*, and *Alfred*. Though now lost—for the code that passes under Edward's name was composed at a later period—it was long the object of affection to the English nation.* Edward was buried in Westminster Abbey, which was consecrated only a few days before his death. This church was erected by Edward and dedicated to

* It was not the laws in this restricted sense that the people demanded—if ever they did demand them—but the milder rule and administration prevailing before

the Conquest, as compared with the harsher rule after the Conquest. But as such complaints under such circumstances are universal they prove nothing.

St. Peter, in pursuance of the directions of pope Leo IX., as the condition of the king's release from a pilgrimage to Rome. Its site was previously occupied by a church erected by Sebert, king of Essex, which had long gone to ruin. Only a few insignificant fragments of this first Norman church in England had survived its demolition in the thirteenth century, when the new minster was commenced by Henry III. in honour of the Confessor. Edward was the first sovereign who touched for the king's evil.

§ 15. HAROLD II., 1066.—Harold's accession to the throne was attended with as little opposition and disturbance as if he had succeeded by the most undoubted hereditary title. On the day after Edward's death he was crowned and anointed king by Aldred, a chbishop of York; and the whole nation seemed to acquiesce joyfully in his elevation. But in Normandy the intelligence of Harold's accession moved William to the highest pitch of indignation. He sent an embassy to England, upbraiding him with breach of faith, and summoning him to resign immediately possession of the kingdom, or at least to keep his promise of marrying William's daughter and holding England as his vassal. Harold refused to comply. The answer was no other than William expected. He assembled a fleet of nearly 1000 vessels, great and small, and an army, variously estimated, from 14,000 to 60,000 men. Several European rulers declared in favour of his claim: but his most important ally was pope Alexander II., who proclaimed Harold a perjured usurper, denounced excommunication against him and his adherents, and, the more to encourage the duke of Normandy in his enterprise, sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it.

The first blow, however, was struck by Harold's brother Tostig, who sailed in the spring of the year with a considerable fleet from the Flemish ports, and ravaged the southern and eastern coasts of England. Repulsed by earls Morcar and Edwin, he took refuge with the Scottish king, Malcolm Canmore. On the appearance of a large fleet in the Tyne under Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, Tostig hastened to join his force with the invader, promising him half of England as the price of his assistance. Scarborough was taken and burned, and the earls Edwin and Morcar were defeated in a bloody battle at Fulford on the Ouse, near Bishopthorpe. Harold now hastened with a large army into the north; and he reached the enemy at Stamford Bridge, near York, called afterwards Battle Bridge. A bloody but decisive action was fought on Monday, the 25th of September, which ended in the total rout of the Norwegians, with the death of Tostig and of Harold Hardrada. Harold had scarcely time to rejoice in his victory, when he received intelligence

that the duke of Normandy had landed with a great army in the south of England.

§ 16. The Norman fleet sailed from St. Valery-sur-Somme on the 27th of September, and arrived safely at Pevensey, in Sussex, on the eve of the feast of St. Michael. The army quietly disembarked. The duke himself, as he leaped on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but had the presence of mind, it is said, to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud that he had taken possession of the country.*

Harold hastened by quick marches to oppose the invader; but, though he was reinforced at London and other places with fresh troops, he found himself weakened by the desertion of Edwin and Morcar, who kept back the great forces of their earldoms. His brother Gurth, a man of bravery and conduct, entertaining apprehensions of the result, remonstrated with the king, urging him to defer an engagement. The enemy, he said, harassed with small skirmishes, straitened in provisions, fatigued with bad weather and deep roads during the winter season, which was approaching, would fall an easy and a bloodless prey. But Harold was deaf to all these remonstrances. He resolved to give battle in person, and for that purpose drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp and fleet to Hastings, where they fixed their quarters (Oct. 13).

After fruitless negotiations on both sides, the English and Normans prepared for the combat. The two camps presented a very different aspect: the English spent the time in revelry and feasting; the Normans in silence and prayer. On Saturday morning, the 14th of October, the duke called together the most considerable of his commanders, and made them a speech suitable to the occasion. He then ordered the signal of battle to be given. The whole army, led on by the minstrel Taillefer, advanced in order and with alacrity towards the enemy, singing the hymn or song of Roland, the peer of Charlemagne.

Barring the road to London, Harold had seized the advantage of a rising ground at Senlac, eight miles from Hastings, and resolved to stand on the defensive. He surrounded his camp with a stockade, crowned with a fence of wattled branches against the Norman arrows. The English, as was their invariable custom, fought on foot. The Kentishmen were placed in the van, a post which they had always claimed as their due; the militia, who were poorly armed, were posted on the wings; in the centre, the king, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leof-

* The incident might seem to have been borrowed from ancient times; but its pertinency on this occasion is strengthened by the fact that one method of taking possession, according to feudal usage, consisted in laying the hand on a wall or piece of land.

wine, placed himself at the head of his mail-clad bodyguard (or house-carls), close to the royal standard. The spot where the standard was pitched was long marked by the site of the high altar of "Battle Abbey," which William had vowed to build on that very spot in honour of St. Martin. For some hours the battle raged with doubtful success, till William commanded his troops to make a hasty retreat, and allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. Heated by action, and sanguine of victory, the English precipitately followed the Normans into the plain, when William ordered the infantry to face their pursuers. Assaulted upon their wings at the same moment by the Norman cavalry, the English were repulsed with great slaughter; but, being rallied by the bravery of Harold, they were still able to maintain their post. The duke tried the same stratagem a second time with the same success; but even after this second advantage he still found a great body of the English who seemed determined to dispute the ground to the last extremity. Ordering his heavy-armed infantry to advance, he posted his archers behind them to gall the enemy, who, exposed by the situation of the ground, were intent on defending themselves against the swords and spears of their assailants. The stratagem prevailed. Harold fell, pierced in the right eye by an arrow, while he was fighting with great bravery at the head of his men. His body was mangled by a band of Norman knights, who had vowed to take the standard, and cut their way through his valiant body-guards. His two brothers had already fallen. Thus the great and decisive victory of Hastings was gained, after a battle fought from morning till sunset, with an heroic valour on both sides, to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom.* The body of Harold, mutilated and defaced beyond recognition, was found on the field. William ordered it to be buried on the sea-shore under a cairn of stones, the well-known sign of execration, but afterwards allowed it to be removed to the abbey of Waltham, founded by Harold. It was entombed beside the high altar of the grand Norman church, but again removed to another spot in the choir, which was pulled down at the dissolution of the monastery (1540). Till then a tomb used to be shown bearing the inscription: "HIC JACET HAROLDUS INFELIX."

* The battle of Hastings is depicted on the Bayeux tapestry. This curious piece of needlework, 214 feet long and 19 inches broad, which is still preserved at Bayeux, represents the whole history of the expedition, as well as the battle. According to tradition, it was worked by Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror; but it was

more probably worked for the Conqueror's brother, bishop Odo, as an ornament of his newly built cathedral at Bayeux. It may be regarded not only as a faithful representation of the costume of the period, but as a contemporary authority for the history of the invasion, though of course from a Norman point of view.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS,
AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE
ANGLO-SAXONS.

1. *Introduction.*—The completeness of the Anglo-Saxon conquest has been inferred from the establishment of their language in England. Even the British names of places yielded to Anglo-Saxon ones, with some few exceptions, and those chiefly in the border counties and in Cornwall. "No one travelling through England," says Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, ch. viii. note 4), "would discover that any people had ever inhabited it before the Saxons, save so far as the mighty Rome has left traces of her empire in some enduring walls, and a few names that betray the colonial city, the Londinium, the Camalodunum, the Lindum." It follows that the laws and customs of England were mainly of German origin. See Stubbe's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i., chapters i.-iv.

2. *The King and Royal family.*—The Teutonic tribes that invaded Britain, like their ancestors in the wilds and woods of Germany, had no regular or permanent king, but elected a supreme head as occasion required, who, as his office chiefly consisted in directing their warlike expeditions, obtained the name of *Heretoga*, or army-leader (in modern German *herszog*, "duke"). Among the Saxons and Frisians of the continent this state of things continued much longer than in England, where the acquisition of a territory by conquest raised the victorious chief to the position of king. Thus, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Hengest and Horsa are *heretogas* when they come to Britain (448); but after the battle of Aylesford (455) Hengest and his son *Æs* took the kingdom (*feng to rice*); and in 488 *Æsc* succeeds his father as king (*cyning*),^{*} that title being now first given to one of the conquerors. So Cerdic and Cynric come as *ealdormen* (485), and in 519 they take the kingdom (*rice*) of the West-Saxons. The fact that, in each of these cases, the son is named as becoming

king with his father, stamps the office at once with a certain *hereditary* character, which was wanting in the old German elective chieftainship. In the early period of the Anglo-Saxon occupation the kingly dignity remained really or nominally elective; but the crown was retained in the royal family, except in great emergencies, where (as with Canute and William) the hard fact of conquest was veiled under the form of election. There was, however, no fixed rule of succession. If the eldest son of the deceased monarch was qualified, he had the preference, but not without the consent of the great council, which was often merely formal; their authority in this or other matters varying according to the power and character of the monarch. But if he was a minor, or otherwise disqualified, he was sometimes set aside, and another appointed from the reigning family. The right of election appears to have belonged to the whole nation, but it was really exercised by the *Witan*, consisting of the prelates and the nobles, the share of the people in the act being confined to the acclamations of such as might happen to be present at the "halloowing" of the king. This ceremony, which included both coronation and unction, performed by the bishops, signified a religious sanction of the king's authority. In the same spirit, the king took an oath that he would govern rightly, and, under the successors of Alfred, when the idea of kingly sanctity had grown stronger, the people took an oath of allegiance. By degrees the kingly power grew stronger in England, especially after the separate kingdoms became merged into one. The kings then began to assume more high-flown titles; as that of Basileus—borrowed from the Byzantine court—Imperator, Primicerius, Flavius, Augustus, etc.; some of which are not very intelligible. Egbert, however, and his five immediate successors, contented themselves with the title of kings of Wessex. Edward the elder assumed the style of "king of the Angles" (*rex Anglorum*), whilst Athelstan called himself "king of all Britain" (*totius Britanniae monarca*, *rex*, or *rector*), and was

* This word is supposed to be of Sanscrit origin, meaning "Father of the Family." (See Stubbe's *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 160.)

the first to introduce the Greek name of *basileus*. Edwy and Edgar are remarkable for their pompous titles.

The king, like the rest of his subjects, had a *wergild*, or fixed price for his life, the amount of which varied in different kingdoms, but was of course considerably higher than that of his most distinguished subjects. This was increased by Alfred, who made the compassing of the king's death a capital offence, attended with confiscation. The king's sons, or, in their default, those who had the next pretension to the succession, were called *æthelings*, or nobles.* The consort of an Anglo-Saxon king was styled emphatically "the wife" (*cwen*), "the lady" (*hlofðige*). She was crowned and consecrated like him, had a separate court, and a separate property, besides her dowry, or "morning gifts" (*morgen-gif'u*).

3. *Division of ranks.*—The whole free population of England under the rank of royalty may be divided into two main classes of *earls* (earls) and *ceorls* (churls); that is, gentle and simple, or nobles and yeomen.

Ealdormen.—In ancient times the affairs of each tribe were directed by the *elders* (*ealdorman*, alderman), which name thus became synonymous with chief. Hence *ealdorman* was the chief title of nobility among the Anglo-Saxons. It was the next rank after the king, and was applied to any man in authority, but more especially to the governor of a shire, or a large district including several shires. The title of *ealdorman* corresponds to the *princeps* of Tacitus, the *satrapa* or *subregulus* of Bede, the *dux* of the Latin chroniclers, and the *comes* of the Normans. The office was properly elective, but in the larger districts or sub-kingdoms it was to a considerable extent hereditary. In this case, the election apparently required the consent of the king and the *Witan*. In the 11th century, under the Danish monarchs, an important change was introduced in the appellation of ranks. The word *earl* lost its general sense of good birth, and became an official title, equivalent to alderman, and was applied to the governor of a shire or province. In this sense, both the word *earl* and the Danish *jarl* came to be merged in the title *earl*. The term

* *Ætheling* is a patronymic from *Æthel*, "noble," which forms the prefix of so many of the Anglo-Saxon names.

earl as a general designation of nobility was now supplanted by *thane*; and hence in the later period of Anglo-Saxon munities we find *thane* opposed to *ceorl*, as *ceorl* is in the earlier (Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. pp. 360, 361). The ealdorman, or earl, and bishop were of equal rank, whilst the archbishop was equal to the *ætheling*, or member of the royal house. After the Norman Conquest the title of alderman seems to have been restricted to the magistrates of cities and boroughs.

Thanes.—Next in degree to the alderman was the thane (A.S. *þegen* or *þegw*).^{*} There were different degrees of thanes, the highest being those called king's thanes, the warrior *comites* of the king. It was necessary that the lesser thane should have five hides of land (about 500 acres); whilst the qualification of the alderman was forty, or eight times as much. This class formed a nobility arising from office or service; but subsequently the hereditary possession of land produced an hereditary nobility; and at length it became so much dependent upon property, that the mere possession of five hides of land, together with a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell, converted a churl into a thane. In like manner, as we have seen, by a law of Athelstan (which, however, was perhaps only a confirmation of an ancient charter), a merchant who had made three voyages on his own account became a thane. The thane was liable to military service, and was therefore on a par with the *eques*, or knight. Probably he had a vote in the national council.

Ceorls or *churls*.—Between the thane and the serf, or slave, was the churl or freeman (sometimes also called *frigman*; in Lat. *villanus*; Norm. *villain*). But every man was obliged by law to place himself under the protection of some lord, failing which he might be seized as a robber. The ceorls were for the most part not independent freeholders, and cultivated the lands of their lords, on which they were bound to reside, and

* Commonly derived from *þegnian*, "to serve," as if the king's servant. But the proper meaning of the word seems to be a *warrior*; and the second sense of service came from the military service rendered by the thanes.

+ It has often been stated that there was no nobility of blood, except in the royal family. Mr. Stubbe thinks that a class of nobles, descended from the ancient settlers (*ceorls* and *æthel*), were gradually merged in the class of nobles by office and service (Stubbe's *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 151).

ould not quit, though in other respects they were freemen. But there were several conditions of ceorls, who in the Domesday Book form two-fifths of the registered inhabitants. We have already seen that the ceorl might acquire land, and that, if he obtained as much as five hides, he became forthwith a thane. Hence there must have been many ceorls in England who were independent free-holders possessing less than this quantity of land, (probably the *Socmanni* or *Socmen* of Domesday Book), whom Mr. Hallam describes as "the root of a noble plant, the free socage tenants, of English yeomanry, whose independence has stamped with peculiar features both our constitution and our national character" (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 274).

Serfs.—The lowest class were the serfs, or servile population (*theowas, cenas*), of whom 25,000 are registered in Domesday Book, or nearly one-eleventh of the registered population. Slaves were of two kinds—hereditary or penal. A free Anglo-Saxon could become a slave only through crime, or default of himself or forefathers in not paying a *wergild*; or by voluntary sale—the father having power to sell a child of seven, and a child of thirteen having power to sell itself. The great majority of slaves probably consisted of captured Celts or their descendants: a conclusion which seems to be corroborated by the fact that this class was by far the most numerous towards the Welsh borders, and that several Celtic words preserved in our language relate to menial employment.

Clergy.—The clergy occupied an influential station in society. They took a great share in the proceedings of the national council; and in the court of the shire the bishop presided along with the alderman. This influence was a natural result of their superior learning in those ignorant ages, as well as of the veneration paid to their sacerdotal character.

4. *The Witen-a-gemöt*.—The great national council (corresponding at first with the *concilium principum* of Tacitus), whether of each state, like Kent or Wessex, or of the whole united kingdom of the Angles and Saxons, must not be conceived of as a popular assembly, like the *folk-moot* of each shire. It was called *Witen-a-gemöt*, assembly of the *Witan* (*sapientes*, wise, able, or noble men). Its constitution,

numbers, and privileges are quite uncertain. It was generally composed, according to the expression, of bishops, abbots, and ealdormen, and of the noble and wise of the kingdom; but who these last were is uncertain. Probably they comprised the royal, if not the lower, thanes. But it is now generally admitted that the ceorls had not the smallest share in the deliberation of the national assembly; that no traces exist of elective deputies, either of shires or cities; and that the Saxon *Witen-a-gemöt* cannot therefore be considered as the prototype of the modern Parliament. The Anglo-Saxon laws are declared to have been made (in varied phraseology) by the king, with the counsel or consent of the *Witan*, or *the wise*. They are found associated with the king in making grants of land and in taxation; and they exercised both civil and criminal Judicature. Sometimes they elected the kings, and, when they could, deposed them. From the names subscribed to extant acts, the *Witen-a-gemöt* must have been a small assembly, their number, time, and place of meeting depending apparently on the pleasure of the king.

5. *Division of the soil. Fölc-land and Boc-land*.—The soil of England was distributed in the manner usual among the Germans upon the continent. Part of the land remained the property of the state, and part was granted to individuals in perpetuity as freeholds. The former was called *Fölc-land*, the land of the folk, or the people, and might either be occupied in common, or parcelled out to individuals for a term, on the expiration of which it reverted to the state. The land detached from the *fölc-land*, and granted to individuals in perpetuity as freehold, was called *Boc-land*, from *boc*, a book or writing, because the possession of such estates was secured by a deed or charter. Originally they were conveyed by some token, such as a piece of turf, the branch of a tree, a spear, a drinking-horn, &c.; and in the case of lands granted to the church, these tokens were solemnly deposited upon the altar. There are instances of such conveyances as late as the Conquest. The title to land thus conveyed seems to have been equally valid with that of *boc-land*; but the latter name can be applied with propriety only to such land as was conveyed by writing. *Boc-land* was exempt from all public

burthens, except those called the *trinoda necessitas*, or liability to military service, and of contributing to the repair of fortresses and bridges (*fyrd, burh-bót, and brycge-bót*). *Boc-land* was granted by the king with the consent of the *Witan*: it could be held by freemen of all ranks, and even bequeathed to females; but in the latter case only in usfruct, reverting after the death of a female holder to the male line. After the Norman conquest we hear no more of *folk-land*: what remained of it at that period became *terra regis*, or crown-land: except a remnant, of which there are traces in the common lands of the present day. This was a consequence of the feudalism introduced by the Normans, by which all England was regarded as the demesne of the king, held under him by feudal tenure.

6. *Shires*.—The territorial division of shires or counties, though ancient, was not common in England. They are first mentioned in connection with Wessex and the laws of king Ina. The smaller kingdoms and their subdivisions fell naturally into shires, as Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Essex, and Norfolk and Suffolk in East Anglia. At what time the complete distribution of counties was effected is unknown; but they existed undoubtedly in their present state at the time of the Conquest. The counties of York and Lincoln, apparently from their great size, were divided, probably by the Danes, into thirds called *tredings*, which, under the corrupt name of *ridings*, still exist in the former. In the later Anglo-Saxon times a *scir-gemót* (shire-mote, or county court) was held twice a year—in the beginning of May and October—in which all the thanes were entitled to a seat and a vote. Its functions were judicial, and it was presided over by the ealdorman, or earl—the executive governor of the county—and by the bishop; for the ecclesiastical dioceses were originally identical with the counties. Hume justly remarks that, among a people who lived in so simple a manner as the Anglo-Saxons, the judicial power is always of more importance than the legislative; and the thanes were mainly indebted for the preservation of their liberties to their possessing the judicial power in their own county courts. The *scir-gerefa* (shire-reeve, sheriff) was the executive officer appointed by the king to carry out the decrees of the court, to levy distresses,

take charge of prisoners, &c. The sheriff was at first only an assessor, but in process of time he became a joint president, and ultimately sole president. This court survived the Conquest; and it is the opinion of Mr. Hallam that it contributed in no small degree to fix the liberties of England by curbing the feudal aristocracy (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 277).

7. *Hundreds*.—Division into hundreds was ancient among the Teutonic races, and is mentioned by Tacitus (Germ. 6 and 12). It had a *personal* basis. Each *pagus*, or district, composed of several *vici* (villages or townships), sent its 100 warriors to the host, and its court had 100 assessors with the *principes* (or ealdorman), and both these may possibly represent 100 free families to which the land of the district was originally allotted (Stubbe, *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 31). This, however, is only an hypothesis. In England the constitution of the hundreds is so anomalous, that it is impossible to ascertain the principle on which it was formed. Some of the smaller shires present the greatest number of hundreds; but this may have arisen from their being more densely populated. In the time of Edward the Confessor, the hundreds of Northamptonshire seem to have consisted of 100 hides of land. In the north of England the wapentake corresponded to the hundred of the southern districts. The name, which literally signifies “the touching of arms,” was derived from the ceremony which took place on the inauguration of the chief magistrate, when, having dismounted from his horse, he fixed his spear in the ground, which was then touched with the spears of those present. The hundred-mote, or court of the hundred, was held by its own hundred-man under the sheriff’s writ, and was a court of justice for suitors within the hundred. But all important cases were decided by the county court; and in course of time the jurisdiction of the court of the hundred was confined to the punishment of petty offences and the maintenance of a local police.

8. The *Township or Village* (*vicus, villula; tūn, tenscipe*) was the territorial unit of the system, and is itself based on the family, which is its original unit. The first element in the state was the individual freeman; his first relation to the community is that of the family; and the tie of kindred (*mægburh*) was the first

constitutional bond. A body of kinsmen, holding a district of land as their common property, and having their homesteads clustered together in its midst, is the first general type of a Germanic community; and the original bond of kindred may probably still be traced in many of the names of places in England which end in the patronymic *wig* (with or without a local termination, as *ham* (home), *ton* (town), &c. But the cluster of homesteads formed the village (*vicus*, *wick*), or, with regard to its enclosure (*tun*), the town or township. When fortified, it became the borough (*burh*).^a The land around it, whether acquired by original colonization, or (as must have been usually the case in England) a division of territory allotted to a certain number of favourites, who cultivated it in common, and severed from neighbouring settlements by a belt of the original forest or waste, formed the *mark*.[†] But as no certain traces of the mark are to be found in England, the basis of our political organization must rather be sought in the township. "The historical township is the body of allodial owners who have advanced beyond the stage of land-community, retaining many vestiges of that organization; or, the body of tenants of a lord, who regulates them, or allows them to regulate themselves, on principles derived from the same" (Stubbs, i. p. 85). "It may represent the original allotment of the smallest subdivision of the free community, or the settlement of the kindred colonizing on their own account, or the estate of the great proprietor who has a tribe of dependants. Its headman is the *tun-gerfa* (town-reeve), who in the dependent townships is of course nominated by the lord, but in the independent ones may have been originally a chosen officer, although, when the central power has become stronger, he may be (as in the Frank *villa*) the

^a "The *stow* is originally the enclosure or hedge, whether of the single farm" (still called in Scotland the town), "or of the enclosed village, as the *burh* is the fortified house of the powerful man. The corresponding word in Norse is *garðr*, our *garth* or *yard*. The equivalent German termination is *heim*, our *ham*; the Danish form is *by* (Norse *bi* = German *bi*). The notion of the *dorf* or *thorp* seems to stand a little further from the primitive settlement."—Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 82, note.

[†] On the whole subject of the mark system, see Stubbs, i. c. p. 85, and the authorities there quoted, and especially Sir Henry Maine, *On Village Communities*.

nominee of the king, or of his officer" (Ibid. p. 83).

9. *Tythings*. *Frankpledge*.—In the later Anglo-Saxon times, and in the southern districts of England, we also find another smaller subdivision, the *tything*, or *tything*, i.e. tenth part (of the hundred), or collection of ten, synonymous in towns with *ward*. Every man, whose rank and property did not afford an ostensible guarantee for his good conduct, was compelled, after the reign of Athelstan, to find a surety (*bork*). This surety was afforded by the tythings, the members of which formed, as it were, a perpetual bail for one another's appearance in cases of crime; with, apparently, an ultimate responsibility if the criminal escaped, or if his estate proved inadequate to defray the penalty incurred. In this view the tythings were also called *friðbörks*, or securities for the peace; a term which, having been corrupted into *friðborg*, gave rise to the Norman appellation of *frankpledge*. The institution seems to have existed only partially in the north of England, where it was called *tiermansa tale* (tenantman's tale). Whether the *tything* arose out of the township or was a separate association of freemen by tens is very doubtful.

10. *Punishments*.—Almost every offence could be expiated with money; and in cases of murder and bodily injuries, not only was a price set upon the corpse, called *wergild*, or *leodgild*, or simply *wer* or *leod*,^a but there was also a tariff for every part of the body, down to the teeth and nails. Considerable value seems to have been set on personal appearance, as the loss of a man's beard was valued at 20 shillings, the breaking of a thigh at only 12; the loss of a front tooth at 6 shillings, the breaking of a rib at only half that sum. In the case of a freeman this price was paid to his relatives, in that of a slave to his master. In this regulation we see but little advance upon that barbarous state of society in which, in the absence of any public or general law, each family or tribe avenges its own injuries. The *wergild* is merely a substitute for personal vengeance. The amount of the *wergild* varied according to the rank and property of the individual, and in this sense every man had truly his price. For this pur-

^a *Wer* and *leod* both signify man, and *gild* money or payment.

pose all society below the rank of the royal family and of an ealdorman was divided into three classes: first, the twyhynd man or ceorl, whose *wergild*, according to the laws of Mercia, was 200 shillings; secondly, the sixhynd man, or lesser thane, whose *wergild* was 600 shillings; and thirdly, the royal thane whose death could not be compensated under 1200 shillings. The *wergild* of an ealdorman was twice as much as that of a royal thane; that of an *stheling* three times, that of a king commonly six times as much. The value of a man's oath was also estimated by his property. The evidence of a thane in a court of justice counterbalanced that of 12 ceorls, and that of an ealdorman the oath of 6 thanes. In cases of foul or wilful murder (*morth*), arson, and theft, capital punishment was sometimes inflicted, if the injured party preferred it to the acceptance of a *wergild*. Treason was a capital crime. Banishment was a customary punishment for atrocious crimes. The banished criminal became an outlaw, and was said to bear a wolf's head; so that if he returned and attempted to defend himself it was lawful for any one to slay him. Cutting off the hands and feet was another punishment for theft. Adultery, though a penal offence, might be expiated, like murder, with a fine.

11. *Courts of justice*.—The two principal courts of justice were the shire-mote, or county court, and the hundred-mote, of the constitution of both of which we have already spoken. From the county court an appeal lay to the king. In the county court, as observed above, all the thanes had a right to vote; but as so large and tumultuous an assembly was found inconvenient, it gradually became the custom to intrust the finding of a verdict to a committee usually consisting of 12 of the principal thanes, but sometimes of 24, or even 36: and in order to form a valid judgment it was necessary that two-thirds of them should concur. In the northern districts these judges were called lawmen (*lahmen*). Their decisions were submitted for the approval of the whole court. The accused, who was obliged to give security (*bork*) for his appearance, might clear himself by his own oath, together with that of a certain number of compurgators or fellow-swearers who were acquainted with him as neighbours, or at all events

resident within the jurisdiction of the court. The compurgators therefore were witnesses to character, and their functions cannot be at all compared to those of a modern juryman. The thanes, or *lahmen*, who found the verdict, bore a nearer resemblance to a jury: yet it is evident, from the mode of trial by compurgation, as well as those by ordeal and judicial combat, of which we shall speak presently, that they were not called upon, like a modern juryman, to form a judgment of the facts from the evidence and cross-examination of witnesses, but from their own knowledge of the facts or opinion of the accused person.* If the accused was a vassal, and his *hlaiford*, or lord, would not give testimony in his favour, then he was compelled to bring forward a triple number of compurgators. The accuser was also obliged to produce compurgators, who pledged themselves that he did not prosecute out of interested or vindictive motives.

Ordeals, or God's judgments, were only resorted to when the accused could not produce compurgators, or when by some former crime he had lost all title to credibility. Some forms of ordeal, as the consecrated morsel and the cross-proof, were only calculated to work upon the imagination; others, and the more customary, as those by hot water and fire, subjected the body to a painful and hazardous trial, from which it is difficult to see how even the most innocent person could ever have escaped, except through the collusion of his judges. These were conducted in a church under the superintendence of the clergy. In the ordeal by hot water, the accused had to take out a stone or piece of iron with his naked hand and arm from a caldron of the boiling element; in that by fire, he had to carry a bar of heated iron for a certain distance that had been marked out. In both cases the injured member was wrapped up by the priest in a piece of clean linen cloth, which was secured with a seal: and if, on opening the cloth on the third day, the wound was found to be healed, the accused was acquitted, or, in the contrary event, was adjudged to pay the penalty of his offence. Judicial combats, called by the Anglo-Saxons *cornest*, and by the Danes *holm-gang*, from their being generally fought

* The origin of trial by jury is discussed in a note at the end of chapter viii.

on a small river-island, though not entirely unknown, appear to have been much rarer among those people than among their Norman successors.

Within the verge of the king's court an accused person enjoyed sanctuary and refuge. Its limits, whether permanent or temporary, are defined with an exactness almost ludicrous, and as if there was something magical in the numbers, to be on every side from the burgh gate of the king's residence, 3 miles, 3 furlongs, 3 acres, 9 feet, 9 palms, and 9 barleycorns.

12. *Guilds*.—The municipal guilds of the Anglo-Saxons may be traced to the heathen sacrificial guilds, an original feature of which was the common banquet. These devil's-guilds, as they are termed in the Christian laws, were not abolished, but converted into Christian institutions. There were even numerous ecclesiastical guilds. It was incumbent on them to preserve peace, and, in case of homicide by one of the members, the corporation paid part of the *wergild*. In London were several *frið-gilda* (peace-guilds) of different ranks; and in the time of Athelstan we find them forming an association for the purpose of mutual indemnity against robbery. Ealdormen are usually found at the heads of the guilds as well as of the cities themselves. The chief magistrate of a town was the *wic-gerfa*, or town-reeve, who appears to have been appointed by the king. Other officers of the same kind were the port-reeve and burgh-reeve. The chief municipal court of London was the *Husting*, literally, a court or assembly in a house, in contradistinction to one held in the open air; whence the modern *Hustings*. This word was introduced by the Northmen, in whose language *thing* signified any judicial or deliberative assembly.

13. *Commerce, manners, and customs*.—England enjoyed a considerable foreign commerce. London was always a great emporium: Frisian merchants are found there and in York as early as the 8th century. Wool was the chief article of export, and was received back from the continent in a manufactured state. Mints were established in several cities and towns, with a limited number of privileged moneyers; and many of the Anglo-Saxon coins still preserved exhibit con-

siderable skill. The Anglo-Saxons loved to indulge in hospitality and feasting; and at their cheerful meetings it was customary to send round the harp, that all might sing in turn. The men, as well as the women, sometimes wore necklaces, bracelets, and rings, which were of a more expensive kind than those used by the female sex. We have already adverted to king Alfred's taste for jewellery. The Anglo-Saxon ladies employed themselves much in spinning; and thus even king Alfred himself calls the female part of his family "the spindle-side," in contradistinction to the spear, or male side. Hence the name of *spinster* for a young unmarried woman.

B. ANGLO-SAXON LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The Anglo-Saxon language was converted into modern English by a slow process of several centuries. It still remains the essential element of our language, all others being but grafts on the parent stock. The works of Alfred, and the Anglo-Saxon laws before the reign of Athelstan, present the language in its purest state. On an examination of Alfred's translations, Mr. Turner found that only about one-fifth of the words had become obsolete (*Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 445); so that the great bulk of our vocabulary still remains Anglo-Saxon. The period of transition, called by some writers the Semi-Saxon, is commonly estimated to extend from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century. Anglo-Saxon became English chiefly through the effects of time; and though the Norman conquest had undoubtedly some influence on the process, it was much less than has been commonly imagined. A few manuscripts of the 13th century are written in as pure Saxon as that which prevailed before the Conquest. The admixture of Norman-French is exemplified in our literature, in the latter half of the 14th century, by the genius and writings of Chaucer.

The Angles and the Saxons introduced two slightly different dialects. Subsequently the Danes settled in the districts occupied by the Angles, and introduced many Scandinavian words. The boundaries between the Anglian and Saxon dialects may perhaps be roughly indi-

cated by a line drawn from the north of Essex to the north of Worcestershire.

The earlier specimens of Anglo-Saxon literature are metrical; the metre being marked by accent and alliteration. The oldest extant specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry is the "Gleeman's Song," the author of which flourished towards the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th centuries, and consequently before the invasion of England: the oldest MS. of the poem, however, is five centuries later. Two other poems, also written before the Anglo-Saxon migration, are the "Battle of Finsburgh" and the "Tale of Beowulf." The songs of Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, who flourished a little before the time of Bede, are probably the oldest specimens extant of Anglo-Saxon poetry written in this country. Cædmon remained for six centuries the great poet, sometimes styled the Milton of the Anglo-Saxons. Other poems and songs are extant, reaching to the 11th century. One of the noblest specimens of the last period is the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms. The most important Anglo-Saxon prose works are the *Chronicles*, composed at different times, and usually cited as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Of King Alfred's works, who must also be regarded as one of the Anglo-Saxon authors, we have already spoken. Other prose writers are St. Wulfstan (archbishop Wulfstan, better known by his Latin name of LUPUS), and Ælfric, the strenuous defender of the English church in the 11th century against the innovations of Rome.

C. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, called by Florence of Worcester *Anglica Chronica*, comprises a set of seven parallel (but not all independent) chronicles, which were kept in different monasteries, three of them at Canterbury, and the others at Winchester, Abingdon, Worcester, and Peterborough. Their range varies, but all begin either with the landing of Julius Caesar or from the Christian era, and the latest (the Peterborough *Chronicle*) reaches to the accession of Henry II. in 1154. The early portions of the *Chronicle* for the most part follow Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; a presumption that (at least, in its present form) the *Chronicle* was compiled after 731. But Bede (as he himself tells us) used early

documents which were compiled in the monasteries from the first establishment of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, and which doubtless embodied the traditions (if not written records) of the people since their arrival in England. The use of these original sources may be traced in the *Chronicle* by entries, relating chiefly to the details of the Conquest and other military events, which have no place in Bede. The first germ of the *Chronicle*, in its collected form, may be traced to King Alfred, who—if we may trust the Norman metrical chronicle of Geoffroi Gaimar (*L'Estorie des Engles*; time of Henry I.)—caused an *English Book* (*un livre Engleis*) to be written, "of adventures, and of laws, and of battles on land, and of the kings who made war;" and this "Chronicle (*cronex, cronike*), a great book," was put forth by authority at Winchester, where the king had it fastened by a chain, for all who wished to read it. An early, though probably not an original, copy of this Winchester *Chronicle*, forming the portion down to A.D. 891, was presented by archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. C.C. cixiii.). Professor Earle traces marks of division, indicating the composition of successive sections of the *Chronicle*, at the years 682, 755, 822, and 855, and the hand of one editor through the whole portion from 455 to 855. At the year 851 we have the decisive proof of original contemporary authorship in the use of the *first person*, and in the phrase, "the present day." After Alfred, the marks of contemporary authorship are constant in this and the other editions of the *Chronicle*, and the continuations by different hands may be traced at certain epochs. (See the *Introduction* to Prof. Earle's edition, "Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others," and Sir T. D. Hardy's *Catalogue, etc.*, in the Rolls Series). The last complete edition, in the Rolls series, exhibits the chronicles in a parallel form, with a translation by Benjamin Thorpe.

D. AUTHORITIES.

The principal ancient historical sources for the Anglo-Saxon times are: Bede, *Chronicon* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*; the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; Gildas, *De*

Eccidio Britannia; Nennius, Historia Britonum; Asser, De Rebus Gestis Alfredi; Etheiward, Chronicon; Florence of Worcester, Chronicon; Simeon of Durham, Historia de Gestis Anglorum, continued by John of Hexham; Henry of Huntingdon, Hist. Anglorum; Geoffroi Gaimar, L'Estorie des Engles. The preceding works, so far as they extend to the Conquest, will be found in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, as well as in other collections and separate editions. In the collection just referred to are also contained the following anonymous pieces referring to the period in question: *Anales Cambriae; Brut y Tywydigion*, or Chronicle of the Princes of Wales; *Carmen de Bello Hastingsensi*. All these are in Latin, except the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Brut y Tywydigion*, and the Norman-French poem of Gaimar. To these sources may be added Michel's *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*.

The other principal collections in which these and other historical works relating to the Anglo-Saxon period will be found are: Parker's Collections; Savile's Collection; Camden, *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta*; Fulman, *Quinque Scriptores*; Gale, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Quinque, and Scriptores Quindecim*; Hearne's Collections; Twyedan, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem*; Sparkes, *Hist. Anglicana Scriptores variis*; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*. These collections contain the following authors, besides most of those already enumerated as in the *Monumenta Historica*: Alred of Rievaulx, *Life of Edward the Confessor, &c.* [Twyedan]; John Brompton, *Chronicles* [*Ibid.*]; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum, &c.*; Roger Hoveden, *Annales* [Savile];* William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* and *De Gestis Pontificum Angl.* [Savile]; Hugo Candidus, *Historia* [Sparkes]; Peter Langtoft, *Metrical Chronicle* [Hearne]; St. Neot *Chronicon* [Gale]; the *Flores Historiarum*, wrongly attributed to Matthew of Westminster [Parker].

The following authors are published

* Ingulphus, *Hist. Croilandensis* [Savile and Fulman], is now proved to be spurious.

in the foreign collection of Duchesne; Gervase of Tilbury; *Annae Angliae Regina Encomium*.

The most complete collection (when the plan is fully executed) will be that of *The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, published by the authority of her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. This series is in large 8vo. each work being intrusted to a competent editor, and furnished with historical and critical introductions, besides notes and (in some cases) translations.

The English translations of a large number of the old chronicles in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library* are of various degrees of merit (and demerit), but of use and interest for the English reader.

The English Historical Society has published the following works: a Collection of Saxon Charters, edited by the late Mr. J. M. Kemble, under the title of *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*; also, the *Chronica* of Roger of Wendover, by the Rev. H. O. Coxe; and valuable editions of Gildas, Nennius, Bede, and Richard of Devizes, by the Rev. J. Stevenson.

The best modern works on the Anglo-Saxon period are: Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 3 vols. 8vo.; Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth during the Anglo-Saxon Period*, 2 vols. 4to., and, *History of England, Anglo-Saxon Period* [Family Library, vol. xxi.]; Kemble's *Saxons in England*, 2 vols. 8vo.; Lappenberg's *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, translated from the German, with additions, by Thorpe, 2 vols. 8vo.; Pearson's *History of England*; Pauli's *Life of King Alfred*; Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of the Anglo-Saxon Kings*; Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest, and Old English History*; Professor Stubbe's *Documents Illustrative of English History*, vol. i., and *Constitutional History of England*. On the influence of the Danes in England, the best work is: Worsace, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*.



Silver Penny of William the Conqueror, struck at Chester—unique.
Obverse: + WILLELM REX; bust, front face, crowned, with sceptre in right hand.
Reverse: + VNNVLF ON CESTRE; cross potent, in each angle a circle, containing respectively PAX.

BOOK II.

THE NORMAN AND EARLY PLANTAGENET KINGS.

A.D. 1066–1199.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM I., SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR. b. 1027; r. 1066–1087.

§ 1. History of Normandy. Rolf the Ganger. William I. Longue-épée. Richard I. Sans-peur. § 2. Richard II. le Bon. Richard III. Robert the Devil. William II. of Normandy and I. of England. § 3. Norman manners. § 4. Consequences of the battle of Hastings. Submission of the English. § 5. Settlement of the government. § 6. William's return to Normandy. Revolts of the English, suppressed upon William's return to England. § 7. New insurrections in 1068. § 8. Insurrections in 1069. Landing of the Danes. § 9. Deposition of Stigand and the Anglo-Saxon prelates. § 10. Last struggle of the English. Conquest of Hereward. § 11. Insurrection of the Norman barons. § 12. Revolt of prince Robert. § 13. Projected invasion of Canute. Domesday Book. War with France and death of William. § 14. Character of William. His administration. Forest laws. Curfew-bell.

§ 1. The Norman conquest produced a complete revolution in the manners as well as in the government of the English; and we must, therefore, here pause a while in order to take a brief survey of the conquerors in their native homes.

For a long period the coasts of Gaul, like those of England, were ravaged by the Northmen; and for the greater part of a century the monks made the Neustrian churches re-echo with the dismal

chant of the litany, *A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine.* Thus the way was prepared for the final subjugation of the country by Rolf, or Rollo, son of the Norwegian jarl Rögnwald. Rollo is said to have been so large of limb that no horse could be found to carry him, whence his name of "Rolf the Ganger," or walker. It was in November, 876, that Rollo first landed in Neustria; but he made no settlement there on that occasion, and he had to fight and struggle long before he could obtain possession of his future dominions. In 911 the French king, Charles the Simple, conciliated him by the cession of a considerable part of Neustria. As a condition of this gift, Rollo, next year, abjuring his pagan gods, became a Christian; was baptised by the archbishop of Rouen, and married Gisla, Charles's daughter. After the completion of the treaty, when Rollo was required to do homage to Charles for his newly acquired domains, the bold Northman started back with indignation, exclaiming, *Ne si, by Gott!* But as the ceremony was insisted on, Rollo deputed one of his soldiers to perform it; who, proudly raising Charles's foot to his mouth, in a standing position, threw the monarch on his back!

Homage performed in such a fashion did not promise a very obedient vassal; and in the course of a few years Rollo's risings and rebellions extorted new cessions of territory. But towards the close of his life he found it expedient to connect himself more closely with the court of France, and he allowed his son William to receive investiture from king Charles at Eu. Rollo died in 931. In 933 we find his son and successor, Guillaume Longue-épée, or William Long-sword, doing homage to king Rudolf, and receiving Cornouaille, subsequently known as the Cotentin, from that monarch, thus extending the western boundary of Normandy to the sea. The name of "Normandy" (Normannia), however, does not appear till the 11th century; and in the earlier times the county and the count, for it was not at first a dukedom, appear to have been called after the capital, Rouen. Already in the time of William, though only the second ruler, the court had become entirely French in language and manners; whilst a pure Norwegian population still occupied the parts near the coast. Hence William, who wished that his son and heir, Richard, should be able to speak to his Norse subjects in their own tongue, sent him to Bayeux to be educated. William was murdered by Flemings in 942. He had, however, previously engaged his subjects to acknowledge his youthful son, Richard, afterwards known by the surname of Sans-peur or the Fearless. This prince married Emma, daughter of Hugh le Grand, duke of France, and was one of the chief partisans who established his son Hugh Capet on the throne of France. Richard was engaged in a

war with England, the causes of which remain unexplained. It was terminated through the mediation of pope John XV., by a treaty of peace signed at Rouen on the 1st March, 991.

§ 2. By the sister of Hugh Capet, Richard Sans-peur had no children; but by Gunnor, his second wife, he left five sons and three daughters, among whom, beside his successor, Richard II., or le Bon, was Emma, wife of Ethelred II. of England, and subsequently of Canute. As Richard II., like his father, was a minor at his accession in 996, the oppressed peasantry took advantage and rose in rebellion; but the insurrection was soon put down. Richard's reign is peculiarly interesting to us in consequence of his intimate connection with England; and as this was continued under his successor Robert, it contributed much to introduce Norman civilization and influence into this country, and to effect its moral subjugation before its actual conquest. Richard le Bon died in 1026. His eldest son and successor, Richard III., died after a short reign, poisoned, as some suspected, by his brother Robert, surnamed the Devil, and also the Magnificent. Robert assumed the reins of government in 1028, not without a struggle. His short reign was marked by a fresh acquisition of territory; but a few years after his accession he resolved to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died on his return, as it is said by poison, at Nice in Bithynia, in the summer of 1035. Before his departure to the Holy Land he had induced the Norman barons to acknowledge as his successor his natural son William, born of a concubine named Herletta at Falaise in 1027, to whom he was much attached. But upon the death of Robert many of the barons refused to acknowledge William; and during his minority the country was disturbed by the feuds of the nobility. When William arrived at manhood, he asserted his rights by force of arms. Active and prudent, just though rigorous, he triumphed over all his adversaries. His success and energy caused him to be feared and courted by the other princes of Europe; and Baldwin, count of Flanders, bestowed upon him his daughter Matilda in marriage. Like the rest of the Normans, William was remarkable for his munificence and devotion to the church of Rome.

§ 3. When the Normans invaded England, they had lost all trace of their northern origin in language and manners; and, though little goodwill existed between them and their French neighbours, they had become in these respects completely French. It has been already remarked that, under the second Norman prince, the Danish language had become obsolete in the Norman capital. It was in Normandy, indeed, as Sir F. Palgrave observes, "that the *langue d'oil* acquired its greatest polish and regularity. The

earliest specimens of the French language, in the proper sense of the term, are now surrendered by the French philologists to the Normans." * They were thus completely estranged from their Norwegian brethren, who would willingly have rescued England from their grasp. Yet the more essential attributes of body and mind are not so easily shaken off as language and conventional manners; and the Normans were still distinguished from the other natives of France by their large limbs, their fair complexions, and their moral qualities. William himself represents them as proud, hard to govern, and litigious, and the imputation of craft and vindictiveness, brought against them by Malaterra, is confirmed by several French proverbs.†

To return.

§ 4. Nothing could exceed the consternation which seized the English when they received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Hastings,‡ the death of their king, the slaughter of their principal nobility and of their bravest warriors, and the rout and dispersion of the rest. That they might not, however, be altogether wanting in this extreme necessity, they took some steps towards uniting themselves against the common enemy. The two potent earls, Edwin and Morcar, who hastened to London on the news of Harold's fall, combined with the citizens and the archbishop of York to raise Edgar, nephew of Edmund Ironside, to the throne. But when the Londoners prepared to risk another battle, the earls withdrew to Northumbria with their forces, in which the only hope of resistance lay. William proceeded to make sure of the south-eastern coast, and advanced against Dover, which immediately capitulated. From Canterbury, where he was detained a month by illness, he despatched messengers to Winchester; on his recovery, he advanced with quick marches to London. A repulse which a body of Londoners received from 500 Norman horse, and the burning of the suburb of Southwark, renewed in the city the terror of the great defeat at Hastings. As soon as William had passed the Thames at Wallingford, and reached Berkhamstead, Stigand, the primate, and Aldred, archbishop of York, made their submissions: and before he arrived within sight of the city, the chief nobility, with Edgar himself, the newly elected king, came into his camp, and declared their intention of acknowledging his authority.§ Orders were immediately issued for his coronation;

* *Normandy and England*, vol. i. d. 703.

† *As Reponse Normande*, for an ambiguous answer: *Un fin Normand*, a sly fellow, not much to be relied on; and *Reconciliation Normande*, for a pretended reconciliation, which does not banish all projects of vengeance. These, however, were the taunts of their enemies.

‡ Strictly, of Senlac.

§ The authorities confuse the order of the submissions.

and William, asserting that the primate had obtained his pall in an irregular manner from pope Benedict IX., who was himself a usurper, refused to be consecrated by him, and conferred this honour on Aldred, archbishop of York. The ceremony was performed in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day (1066). The most considerable of the nobility, both English and Norman, attended on this occasion. Aldred, in a short speech, asked the English whether they agreed to accept of William as their king; the bishop of Coutances put the same question to the Normans; and as both answered with acclamations, Aldred administered to the duke the usual coronation oath, by which he bound himself to protect the church, to administer justice, and to repress violence. He then anointed William, and placed the crown upon his head. Nothing but joy appeared in the countenances of the spectators; but in that very moment the strongest symptoms of the jealousy and animosity which prevailed between the two nations burst forth, and continued to increase during the reign. The Norman soldiers, who were posted outside in order to guard the church, hearing the shouts within, pretended to believe that the English were offering violence to their duke, immediately assaulted the populace, and set fire to the neighbouring houses. The alarm was conveyed to the nobility who surrounded the prince. Both English and Normans, full of apprehensions, rushed out to secure themselves from the present danger; and it was with difficulty that William himself was able to appease the tumult.

§ 5. William claimed the throne by a pretended promise of king Edward, and had won it by force of arms; but to cover the weakness of his title, and the appearance of having gained it by violence, he prudently submitted to the formality of a popular election. He now retired from London to Barking in Essex, and there received the submissions of all those who had not attended his coronation. Even Edwin and Morcar, with the other principal noblemen of England, came and swore fealty to him, were received into favour, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates and dignities. William sent Harold's standard to the pope, accompanied with many valuable presents: all the considerable monasteries and churches in France, where prayers had been put up for his success, now tasted of his bounty: the English monks found him disposed to favour their order: and on the battle-field, near Hastings, he built Battle Abbey, as a lasting memorial of his victory.

William introduced into England that strict execution of justice for which his administration had been celebrated in Normandy; and his new subjects were treated with affability and regard. No signs of suspicion appeared, not even towards Edgar Aetheling, the

heir of the ancient royal family, whom he affected to treat with the greatest kindness, as nephew to the Confessor, his friend and benefactor. Though he confiscated the estates of Harold and of those who had fought at Hastings, yet in many instances the property was left in the hands of its former possessors.* He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London and other cities; and his whole administration bore a semblance of a legitimate king, and not of a conqueror. But amidst all this confidence and friendship which he professed for the English, he took care to place all real power in the hands of his Normans, and kept possession of the sword, to which he was sensible he owed his advancement to sovereign authority. He disarmed the city of London and all warlike and populous places; he built a castle in the capital,† as well as in Winchester, Hereford, and other cities best situated for commanding the kingdom; in all of them he quartered Norman soldiers, and left nowhere any force able to resist or oppose him. Nothing tended more to break down the power of the great territorial chiefs, and to make the central government supreme, than William's division of England into smaller earldoms, generally one for each of the shires, which thus came to assume the name of *counties*.

§ 6. By this mixture of vigour and lenity he had so soothed the minds of his new subjects, that in the course of the year 1067 he thought he might safely revisit his native country. He left the administration in the hands of his uterine brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and of William Fitz-Osbern, the latter of whom had rendered him important services in the conquest of England. That their authority might be exposed to less danger, he carried over with him the most considerable of the nobility of England that still survived: and while they served to grace his court by their presence and magnificent retinues, they were in reality hostages for the fidelity of their nation. Among these were Edgar *Aetheling*, Stigand the primate, the earls Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof,‡ with

* It seems that, at the very beginning of his reign, William asserted the right of conquest, though without fully acting on it, by which both the public land (*folk-land*) became the king's (*terra regis*), and the estates of the conquered were at his disposal. Distinct mention is found of cases in which those who submitted had their lands granted back to them, or bought them of William for money. (See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. pp. 14, 25.)

† This is the keep, or White Tower, of the Tower of London, which a mistaken tradition ascribed (like the Norman

keep at other castles) to the Romans. Its builder was Gundulph, bishop of Rochester. It was re-faced by Sir Christopher Wren, but parts of the original surface are visible. The interior is little altered. (See Mr. G. T. Clark's paper on "The Military Architecture of the Tower" in the *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, held at London, entitled "Old London," 1867.)

‡ Waltheof, son of Siward, had been made earl of the shires of Northampton and Huntingdon in the famous *Witenagemot* held at Oxford (1065). There was a fourth great earl, Oswulf of Northumber-

others eminent for the greatness of their fortunes and families, or for their ecclesiastical and civil dignities. At the abbey of Fécamp, where he resided during some time, he was visited by Rudolph, uncle to the king of France, and by many powerful princes and nobles, who had contributed to his enterprise, and were desirous of participating in its advantages. His English courtiers, willing to ingratiate themselves with their new sovereign, outvied each other in equipages and entertainments, and made a display of riches which struck the foreigners with astonishment. William of Poitiers, a Norman historian, who was present, speaks with admiration of the beauty of their persons, the size and workmanship of their silver plate, the costliness of their embroideries—an art in which the English then excelled;—and he expresses himself in such terms as tend much to exalt our idea of the opulence and culture of the people.

But the departure of William was the immediate cause of all the calamities which befel the English in this and the subsequent reigns. It gave rise to those mutual jealousies and animosities between them and the Normans, which were never appeased till, after a long tract of time, the two nations had gradually united into one people. During the king's absence discontents and complaints multiplied everywhere; secret conspiracies were formed against the government, and hostilities had already begun in many places. The king, informed of these dangers, hastened over to England; and by his presence, and the vigorous measures which he pursued, disconcerted the schemes of the conspirators. But he now began, if not before, to regard the English as irreclaimable enemies, and thenceforth resolved to reduce them to more complete subjection. After subduing Cornwall, quelling some disturbances in the west of England, excited by Gytha, king Harold's mother, and building a fortress to overawe the city of Exeter, William returned to Winchester, and dispersed his army into their quarters.

§ 7. At Winchester he was joined by his wife Matilda, who had not before visited England, and whom he now ordered to be crowned by archbishop Aldred (1068). The English formed a league for expelling the Normans and restoring Edgar. The two earls Edwin and Morcar, the former of whom William had disgusted by refusing him the hand of his daughter, which he had promised, were the chief instigators of the rebellion. Cospatric, earl of Northumberland beyond the Tyne, and Malcolm, king of Scotland,

land north of the Tyne (the present county), which had scarcely yet lost the name of Bernicia. He appears to have been deposed by William. Both he and | his successor met with violent deaths soon after. The earldom was then bought of William by Cospatric.

agreed to take up arms. The conspirators seem to have received promises of assistance from the sons of Harold, who had fled to Ireland after the battle of Hastings; from Blethwallon, or Bleddyon, king of North Wales; and from Sweyn, king of Denmark. William immediately marched northwards, and took up his position at Warwick, in the heart of Mercia. When Edwin and Morcar approached, they did not venture a battle with the Conqueror. The sons of Harold, landing upon the western coast of England, were defeated and compelled to retire to Ireland. In the north the Normans were equally successful. York, the only fortress in the country, was taken, and Cospatric, accompanied by Edgar Ætheling and his sisters, fled to the court of Malcolm in Scotland. The latter concluded a peace with William, to whom he swore fealty.* With this act the conquest of England may be regarded as complete.

§ 8. In 1069 the insurrection broke out a second time in the north. The Danes, after two or three vain attempts on the south-eastern coast, landed in the Humber, with 240 ships, under the command of the brother of king Sweyn; Edgar Ætheling, with Cospatric and other leaders, appeared from Scotland, and earl Waltheof left William's court to join them. York was taken by assault, and the Norman garrison, to the number of 3000 men, was put to the sword. This success proved a signal for disaffection in many parts of England. The inhabitants, repenting of their former easy submission, seemed determined to make one great effort for the recovery of their liberties and the expulsion of their oppressors.

William first marched against the rebels in the north, and engaged the Danes by large presents to retire. Having thus got rid of his most formidable opponents, he found no difficulty in crushing the rest of his enemies. Waltheof and Cospatric submitted to the Conqueror, and, while both were confirmed in their earldoms, Waltheof was rewarded with the hand of Judith, William's niece. Three years later, the son of Siward was restored to that part of the Northumbrian earldom which had been held by Cospatric, to which that of Northumberland was subsequently added. Malcolm, king of Scotland, coming too late to the support of his confederates, was constrained to retire; the English submitted, the rebels dispersed, and left the Normans undisputed masters of the kingdom. Edgar Ætheling, with his followers, sought once more a retreat in Scotland from the pursuit of his enemies, where his sister Margaret

* *Ordericus Vitalis* (p. 511b), the sole authority for this, says, "Guillelmo Regi fidele obsequium juravit." There is not a word about *Cumberland*, for which historians have assumed that the homage was done.

was shortly afterwards married to Malcolm (1070). In her daughter's subsequent marriage with Henry I., the English and Norman royal lines were united. William, who passed the winter in the north, issued orders for laying waste the entire country for the extent of sixty miles between the Humber and the Tees. The lives of 100,000 persons, who died by famine, are computed to have been sacrificed to this stroke of barbarous policy, and the country was reduced to such a state of desolation, that for several years afterwards there was hardly an inhabitant left. This act, attributed to William's vengeance, was rather, perhaps, a stern measure of precaution against the incursions of the Scots and Danes. It is not likely that so avaricious and sagacious a prince should have resorted to a measure that crippled his own power and revenue merely out of a spirit of revenge. The same barbarous measure was resorted to in France in much more civilized times, when the constable Montmorency completely desolated Provence in order to check the advance of the emperor Charles V.

Insurrections and conspiracies in so many parts of the kingdom had involved the bulk of the landed proprietors, more or less, in the guilt of treason; and the king took the opportunity for enforcing against them, with the utmost rigour, the laws of attainder and forfeiture. Their lives were indeed commonly spared; but their estates were confiscated, and either annexed to the royal demesnes, or conferred with the most lavish bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. Several of the English nobles, despairing of the fortunes of their country, fled abroad. Some took refuge at the court of Constantinople, where they entered the service of the Greek emperor, and, being incorporated with Danes and others, formed, under the name of Varangians, the imperial body-guard.

§ 9. The Conqueror now proceeded to deprive the English of all offices in the state, as well ecclesiastical as civil. The Anglo-Saxon church had, to a certain extent, maintained its independence of the Roman see; and accordingly pope Alexander willingly assisted William in depriving the native prelates of their benefices. Three papal legates were despatched into England, who summoned a council of prelates and abbots at Winchester in 1070. In this council the legate, upon some frivolous charges, degraded Stigand, the primate: William confiscated his estate, and confined him at Winchester, where he died. Like rigour was exercised against other English bishops; and Wulstan of Worcester was the only one that escaped the general proscription. Even monasteries were plundered, and their plate carried off to the royal treasury.

Lanfranc an Italian celebrated for his learning and piety, who,

as prior of Bec in Normandy, had long been William's chosen friend and counsellor, was now promoted to the vacant see of Canterbury. He was rigid in defending the prerogatives of his see; and, after a long process before the pope, obliged Thomas, a Norman monk, who had been appointed to York, to acknowledge the primacy of Canterbury.

§ 10. The two earls, Morcar and Edwin, sensible that they had entirely lost their dignity, and could not even hope to remain long in safety, determined, though too late, to share the fate of their countrymen. They fled from William's court, and made some ineffectual attempts to gather followers. Edwin was slain on his way to Scotland, either by his own men, or by the Normans to whom he was betrayed. Morcar took shelter with the brave Hereward in the Isle of Ely, then really an island amidst the waters of the fens, where the English had formed their last "Camp of Refuge." The exploits of Hereward against the Normans lived long in the memory of the English, invested with the romance of patriotic legends. Of his parentage and early life nothing is known except that he possessed estates in Lincolnshire and Warwickshire. According to one account, he was in Flanders at the time of the Conquest; but, hearing that his mother had been deprived of her estate by a foreigner, he returned to England, drove out the intruder, and erected the banner of independence. He was quickly joined by other bold spirits, and, protected by the fens and morasses of the Isle of Ely, was able to bid defiance to William. The king found it necessary to employ all his endeavours to subdue their stronghold, and having surrounded it with flat-bottomed boats, and made a causeway through the morasses to the extent of two miles, he obliged the rebels to surrender at discretion (1071). Hereward alone escaped, with a small band, in ships to the open sea. After long harassing the Normans, he married a rich Englishwoman, made his peace with William, but was at last murdered in his own house by a band of Normans. Romantic as this story may appear, thus much is certain, that a Hereward is found in Domesday Book as a holder of lands under Norman lords in Warwick and Worcester shires.* Earl Morcar was thrown into prison, and long after died in confinement, in Normandy. To complete these successes, Edgar Ætheling himself, weary of a fugitive life, submitted to his enemy; and, receiving a decent pension for his subsistence, was permitted to live at Rouen despised and unmolested.

§ 11. As William had now nothing to fear from his English sub-

* See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. pp. 455-485, and Appendix OO, "The Legend of Hereward."

jects, it was his policy to conciliate and protect them. But he had to encounter the jealousy and disaffection of his companions in arms. His resolute opposition to their feudal aggressions, in the maintenance of his royal authority, had excited general discontent among the haughty Norman nobles. Even Roger, earl of Hereford, son and heir of Fitz-Osbern, the king's chief favourite, was strongly infected with it. Intending to marry his sister to Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, Roger had thought it his duty to inform the king and desire his consent; but meeting with a refusal, he proceeded nevertheless to complete the nuptials, and assembled his own friends, and those of Guader, to attend the solemnity (1075). The two earls here prepared measures for a revolt; and during the gaiety of the festival, while the company was heated with wine, they opened the project to their guests. Inflamed with the same sentiments, the whole company entered into a solemn engagement to shake off the royal authority. Even earl Waltheof, who had married the Conqueror's niece, inconsiderately expressed his approbation of the plot, and promised his concurrence towards its success. But, on cooler judgment, he foresaw that the conspiracy of these discontented barons was not likely to prove successful against the established power of William; and he opened his mind to his wife, Judith, of whose fidelity he entertained no suspicion, but who, having secretly fixed her affections on another, took this opportunity of ruining her easy and credulous husband. She conveyed intelligence of the conspiracy to the king, aggravating every circumstance which she believed would tend to incense him against Waltheof, and render him absolutely implacable. Meanwhile the earl, at the suggestion of Lanfranc, to whom he had discovered the secret, went over to Normandy, whither William had gone some time previously to quell an insurrection in his province of Maine; but though he was well received by the king, and thanked for his fidelity, the account previously transmitted by Judith sunk deep into William's mind, and had destroyed the merit of her husband's repentance.

Hearing of Waltheof's departure; the conspirators immediately concluded that their design was betrayed, and flew to arms before their schemes were ripe for execution. They were defeated at every point. The prisoners had their right feet cut off to mark them for the future (1075).* William returned to England, accompanied by Waltheof, who was soon afterwards arrested. The earls were condemned, in a council held at Westminster, to stricter imprison-

* "Ut notificantur," to be known or detected (Orderic. p. 535b). On the custom of mutilating prisoners of war, see Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. pp. 278, 581.

ment. Ralph, who had escaped, and the earl of Hereford, suffered forfeiture of their estates; and the latter was kept a prisoner till his death. But Waltheof, being an Englishman, was treated with less humanity. At the instigation of Judith, and of the rapacious courtiers, who longed for so rich a forfeiture, he was tried, condemned, and executed (1076). His body was removed by the monks of Crowland to the abbey, which he had befriended and enriched. The English, who considered this nobleman as the last prop of their nation, grievously lamented his fate, and held him for a saint and martyr. The legend adds that the infamous Judith, falling soon after under the king's displeasure, was abandoned by all the world, and passed the rest of her life in contempt, remorse, and misery. It is more certain that the execution of Waltheof marks the turning point in William's prosperous career.*

§ 12. The king now spent some years in passing between England and Normandy, where he was involved in a series of unsuccessful wars. The climax of these troubles was the revolt of his eldest son Robert, to whom William had caused the nobles of Normandy to swear fealty as his successor. When Robert, instigated by the French king, Philip I., demanded the full possession of the duchy, his father replied with the taunt, "I am not used to take off my clothes before I go to bed." After various disputes Robert openly levied war upon his father (1078). William called over an army of English under his ancient captains, who soon expelled Robert and his adherents from their retreats, and restored the authority of the sovereign in all his dominions. The young duke was obliged to take shelter in the castle of Gerberoi, in the district of Beauvais, which the king of France, who secretly fomented all these dissensions, had provided for him (1079). Under the walls of the castle many encounters took place, which resembled more the single combats of chivalry than the military actions of armies. One of them was remarkable for its circumstances and its event. Robert happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet; and both of them being valiant, a fierce combat ensued, till at last the young duke wounded his father in the hand, and unhorsed him. On calling out for assistance, the king's voice was recognized by his son, who quickly dismounted, set his father on his horse again, and let him depart

* The descendants of Waltheof occupy an important place in the history of the Scotch and English royal families. In the famous contest for the Scottish crown, the question occurs, "How did the ancestor of the claimant come to be *earl of Huntingdon?*" It was thus:—Matilda,

the daughter of Waltheof, married (for her second husband) David, son of Malcolm and Margaret (afterwards David I.), and thus brought the earldom of Huntingdon into the Scotch royal family, and made Waltheof an ancestor of our royal line.

with his defeated soldiers. The interposition of the queen and the nobles of Normandy at length brought about a reconciliation. The king seemed so fully appeased, that he even took Robert with him into England; where he intrusted him with the command of an army, in order to repel an inroad of Malcolm, king of Scotland. This expedition is memorable for the foundation of the *New Castle* on the Tyne, which gave name to the modern chief town of Northumberland. It was followed by a fresh quarrel between the king and his son, who departed in anger to France (1080). About the same time William marched into Wales as far as St. Davids, and the Welsh, unable to resist his power, were compelled to make a compensation for their incursions. The whole land was now reduced to tranquillity (1081).

§ 13. The remaining transactions of William's reign are not of much importance. In the year 1085, Canute, who had succeeded Sweyn in the kingdom of Denmark, collected a large fleet with the design of invading England; and though from various causes it was not carried into execution, it nevertheless occasioned some calamity to the nation. The odious tax of *Danegeld* was reimposed; a large army of foreigners was brought over from the continent; and the lands adjoining the sea-coast were laid waste in order to deprive the expected enemy of support. In the following year (August, 1086) William received at Salisbury the oath of fealty from all holders of land in the kingdom: thus enforcing direct homage to himself, and not as before to their immediate lords; a modification of feudalism which formed the strongest bond of union to the whole state. This great change had been prepared for by the compilation of their *Domesday Book*.*

In 1087 William was detained on the continent by a misunder-

* The origin and meaning of the word *Domesday* is quite uncertain. It was sometimes called the Book of Winchester, because the requisitions of the commissioners appointed to make the survey were returned to Winchester, and hence some have thought that the name is a corruption of *Damus Dei*, the name of the chapel in Winchester Cathedral where it was preserved. Though not complete for all the counties, it shows the extent, nature, and divisions of the landed property in each, in the time of Edward the Confessor, and at the time of the survey; the products of various kinds, as woods, fisheries, mines, etc. It was ordered by William at his Christmas court at Gloucester (1085), and such was the expedition used that it was finished

by July, 1086. It consists of two volumes, a large and smaller folio, written on vellum. It was printed by the government in 1783, and *fac similes* of it in photo-zincography have lately been published by the Ordnance Survey Office. A complete account of it will be found in Sir H. Ellis's *General Introduction to Domesday*, 2 vols. 8vo. By its division into modern counties it shows that already this arrangement had become perfectly familiar and was universally recognized. The whole number of persons registered in Domesday Book is 283,242. But as the work was not intended for a record of population, all inferences on that head are uncertain. The tenants in *capite* are generally Normans; the inferior tenants often Anglo-Saxons.

standing between himself and the king of France, occasioned by the inroads made into Normandy by French nobles on the frontiers. His displeasure was increased by the account he received of some railleries which that monarch had thrown out against him. William, who had become corpulent, had been detained in bed some time by sickness; upon which Philip expressed his surprise that his brother of England should be so long in lying in. The king sent him word that, as soon as he was up, he would present so many lights at Notre Dame as would perhaps give little pleasure to the king of France—alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after childbirth. Immediately on his recovery he led an army into L'Isle de France, and laid it waste with fire and sword. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident which soon after put an end to William's life. His soldiers having burnt the town of Mantes, William rode to the scene of action, and as his horse treading upon some hot ashes started aside, the king was thrown violently on the pommel of his saddle. Being in a bad habit of body, as well as somewhat advanced in years, he began to apprehend the consequences, and ordered himself to be carried in a litter to the monastery of St. Gervais, near Rouen. Finding his illness increase, and sensible of the approach of death, he was struck with remorse for those acts of violence which he had committed during the course of his reign over England. He endeavoured to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries, and issued orders that several prisoners should be set at liberty. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert. Lanfranc was directed to crown William king of England; and to Henry he bequeathed 5000 pounds of silver. His second son, Richard, had been killed long before, whilst hunting in the New Forest.

§ 14. William expired on the 9th of September, 1087, in the 61st year of his age, in the 21st year of his reign over England, and in the 54th of that over Normandy. He was buried in the church of St. Stephen at Caen. Few princes have been more fortunate than this great monarch, or better entitled to grandeur and prosperity, from the abilities and the vigour of mind which he displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence. His ambition did not always submit to the restraints of justice, still less to those of humanity, but was controlled by the dictates of sound policy. Born in an age when the minds of men were intractable and unused to obedience, he was yet able to direct them to his purposes; and, partly by the ascendancy of his energetic character, partly by policy, he was enabled to establish and maintain his authority.

Though not insensible to generosity, he was too often hardened against compassion. In the difficult enterprise of subduing a brave and warlike people he succeeded so completely that he transmitted his power to his descendants, and it would be difficult to find in all history a revolution attended with a more complete subjection of the ancient inhabitants. For a time the English name became a term of reproach, and generations elapsed before one family of native pedigree was raised to any considerable honours.

The administration of William was more severely displayed in the *Forest Laws*. Like all the Normans, William was fond of hunting; and, according to the quaint expression of the Anglo-Saxon chronicler, "loved the tall game as if he had been their father." The forests had been protected before the Conquest; but William, for the preservation of the game, established more rigid penalties. The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes, at a time when manslaughter could be atoned for by a fine or composition. In forming the New Forest in the neighbourhood of his palace at Winchester, the country around was "afforested," that is, subjected to the forest laws. For that purpose, churches and villages were destroyed, but the number has been probably exaggerated.

The numerous *Castles* erected in all parts of England during the reign of the Conqueror were at once the means and the visible emblems of English subjection. Of these strongholds no fewer than 48 are recorded in Domesday as erected since the time of Edward the Confessor.

William is said to have introduced the *curfew* (i.e. *couver feu*) bell, upon the ringing of which all fires had to be covered up at sunset in summer, and about eight at night in the winter. The custom was brought over from Normandy, and has been thought by some to have been used in many countries as a precaution against fire. But it was probably of ecclesiastical origin, and served originally for devotional purposes.



Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester and brother of king Stephen. From an enamelled plate in the British Museum.*

CHAPTER VI.

WILLIAM II., HENRY I., STEPHEN. A.D. 1087-1154.

- § 1. Accession of WILLIAM RUFUS. Conspiracy against the king. § 2. Invasion of Normandy, and other wars. § 3. Acquisition of Normandy, § 4. Quarrel with Anselm, the primate. § 5. Transactions in France. Death and character of Rufus. § 6. Accession of HENRY I. His charter. § 7. Marriage of the king. § 8. Duke Robert invades England. Accommodation with him. § 9. Henry invades and conquers Normandy. § 10. Ecclesiastical affairs. Disputes respecting investitures. § 11. Wars

* For an explanation of the inscription, see Labarte, *Arts of the Middle Ages*, p. xxiv.

abroad. Death of prince William. § 12. Henry's second marriage. Marriage of his daughter. His death and character. § 13. Accession of STEPHEN. Measures for securing the government. § 14. Stephen acknowledged in Normandy. Disturbances in England. § 15. Matilda invades England and obtains the crown. Her flight. § 16. Prince Henry in England. Acknowledged as Stephen's successor. Death and character of Stephen.

§ 1. WILLIAM II., *b. A.D. 1060; r. 1087-1100.*—William, surnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from the colour of his hair, had no sooner procured his father's commendatory letter to Lanfranc, the primate, than he hastened to England before intelligence of his father's death could arrive. Pretending orders from the king, he secured the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings; and got possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to the sum of 60,000 pounds. Assembling some of the bishops and principal nobles, the primate proceeded at once to crown the new king (September 26), and thus anticipate all faction and resistance. The Norman barons, however, who for many reasons preferred Robert, with Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Robert, count of Mortagne, maternal brothers of the Conqueror, envying the great credit of Lanfranc, engaged their partisans in a formal conspiracy against the king. William, who had gained the affections of the English by general promises of good treatment, and an amelioration of the forest laws, was soon in a situation to take the field. The rapidity of his movements speedily crushed the rebellion (1088). Freed from immediate danger, he took little care to fulfil his promises. The English still found themselves exposed to the same oppressions as in the reign of the Conqueror, oppressions augmented by the new king's violent and impetuous temper. The death of Lanfranc (1089), who had been William's tutor and had retained great influence over him, gave full scope to his tyranny; and all orders of men found reason to complain of arbitrary and illegal administration. Even the privileges of the church, usually held sacred in those days, proved a feeble rampart against his usurpations. The terror of William's authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late insurrections, retained every one in subjection, and preserved the general tranquillity of England.

§ 2. Thus strengthened at home, William invaded the dominions of his brother Robert in Normandy (1090). The war, however, was brought to an end by the mediation of the nobles on both sides, who were strongly connected by interest and alliances. It was stipulated that, on the demise of either brother without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions. Henry, disgusted that little care had been taken of his interests in this accommodation, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong fortress on the

coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbourhood with his incursions. He was besieged by Robert and William, with their joint forces, and had been nearly reduced by scarcity of water, when Robert, hearing of his distress, granted him permission to supply himself, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Reproved by William for this ill-timed generosity, he replied, "What, shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" During this siege, William performed an act of generosity little in accordance with his character. Riding out one day alone, to take a survey of the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers and dismounted. One of them drew his sword in order to despatch him, when the king exclaimed, "Hold, knave! I am the king of England." The soldier suspended his blow; and, raising the king from the ground with expressions of respect, received a handsome reward, and was taken into his service. Soon after Henry was obliged to capitulate; and being despoiled of his patrimony, was reduced to great poverty. William, attended by Robert, returned to England; and soon after, accompanied by his brother, led an army into Scotland, and obliged Malcolm to accept terms of peace (1091), which were mediated by Robert on the part of William, and by Edgar Ætheling on that of Malcolm. Advantageous conditions were stipulated for Edgar, who returned to England; Malcolm consented to do homage to William; and Cumberland, formerly held by the Scottish kings as a fief under the English crown, was now reduced to an English county, and secured by the fortification of Carlisle. Its settlement by an English colony extinguished its Celtic character, though in memory of them it retains to this day the name of the Cymry.

§ 3. At the preaching of the Crusade by Peter the Hermit for the recovery of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem,* Robert enlisted himself among the Crusaders. To provide himself with money, he resolved to mortgage his dominions for a term of five years; and he offered them to William for the inadequate sum of 10,000 marks. The bargain was concluded; the king raised the money by violent extortions from his subjects of all ranks, even the religious houses, which were obliged to melt their plate to furnish the quota demanded. William was put in possession of Normandy and Maine; and Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the Holy Land (1095).

§ 4. Devoid alike of religious feeling and religious principle, William, during the latter part of his reign, was engaged in disputes with the church. After the death of Lanfranc he retained in his own hands, for several years, the revenues of Canterbury, and

* The history of the Crusades is narrated in the Student's Gibbon, pp. 545, seq.

of other vacant bishoprics; but falling into a dangerous sickness, he was seized with remorse, and resolved, therefore, to supply instantly the vacancy of Canterbury (1093). For this purpose he sent for Anselm, a native of Aosta in Piedmont, abbot of Bec in Normandy, who was much celebrated for his learning and piety, and whom he persuaded with difficulty to accept the primacy. But William's passions returned with returning health. He retained ecclesiastical benefices; the sale of spiritual dignities continued as openly as ever. He refused to surrender the temporalities of Canterbury to Anselm. The division between them grew more serious. The new primate had determined to receive his pall in Rome from the hands of Urban VI., contrary to the king's wishes, who had espoused the cause of the antipope. Enraged at this attempt, William summoned a council with an intention of deposing Anselm: but he was at last prevailed upon by other motives to give the preference to Urban. Anselm received the pall from that pontiff; and matters seemed to be accommodated between the king and the primate, when the quarrel broke out afresh from a new cause. In 1097 William had undertaken an expedition against Wales, and, requiring the archbishop to furnish his quota of soldiers for that service, accused him of insufficiently fulfilling his feudal obligations. Anselm retorted by demanding that the revenues of his see should be restored. He appealed to Rome against the king's injustice; and, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, obtained the king's permission to retire beyond sea the same year. His temporalities were seized by William; the archbishop was received with great respect by Urban, who menaced the king, for his proceedings against the primate and the church, with sentence of excommunication.

§ 5. In 1099 the Crusaders became masters of Jerusalem. Their success stimulated others to follow their example; and William, duke of Guienne and count of Poitou, like Robert, offered to mortgage his dominions to William, in order to raise money for the purpose of proceeding to the Holy Land with an immense body of followers. The king accepted the offer, had prepared a fleet and an army in order to transport the money and take possession of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poitou, when an accident put an end to his life and all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting in the New Forest, attended, among others, by Francis Walter, surnamed Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery. As William had dismounted after the chase, impatient to show his dexterity, Tyrrel let fly an arrow at a stag which suddenly started before him. The arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and killed him in-

stantaneously.* Without informing any one of the accident, Tyrrel put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea shore, embarked for France, and joined the Crusade. The body of William was found in the forest by the country people, and was buried at Winchester. Tradition long pointed out the tree struck by the arrow, and a stone still commemorates the spot where it stood.

William was a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind and ungenerous relative. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treasury; and if he possessed abilities, he lay so much under the government of impetuous passions, that he made little use of them in his administration. He built a new bridge across the Thames at London, surrounded the Tower with a wall, and erected Westminster Hall, which still retains portions of the original fabric. It was remarked in that age that Richard, an elder brother of William, had perished by an accident in the New Forest; and that Richard, his nephew, natural son of duke Robert, had lately lost his life in the same place, after the same manner. As the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence in expelling the inhabitants to make room for his game, popular belief ascribed the death of his posterity to the just vengeance of Heaven. William was killed August 2nd, 1100, in the 13th year of his reign, and about the 40th of his age. He died unmarried.

HENRY I.

§ 6. HENRY I., surnamed BEAUCLERK, *b. A.D. 1070, r. 1100–1135.*—Henry was hunting with Rufus in the New Forest when intelligence was brought him of that monarch's death. Sensible of the advantage attending the conjuncture, he hurried to Winchester, to secure the royal treasure. Without losing a moment, he hastened to London, and having assembled such of the nobles and prelates as adhered to his party, he was suddenly elected, or rather saluted, as king. In less than three days after his brother's death, he was crowned by Maurice, bishop of London (August 5). As the barons would have preferred the more popular rule of Robert, who had not yet returned from Palestine, Henry resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of his subjects. He granted a charter, in which he promised—to the church, that he would not seize the revenues of any see or abbey during a vacancy—to the barons and other tenants of the crown, that he would

* Such is the account, as related by the contemporary chronicler, Florence of Worcester, and his immediate follower, William of Malmesbury. Some deny the

charge against Tyrrel. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* simply says that William was shot "by one of his men."

not oppress them with unlawful reliefs—and to the people, that he would observe the laws of Edward the Confessor. Whilst attempting, by granting special boons to each order in the state, to secure the goodwill of all, Henry definitively committed himself to the duties of a national king.* Henry at the same time granted a charter to London, which seems to have been the first step towards rendering that city a corporation.†

§ 7. Sensible of the great authority acquired by Anselm, Henry invited him to return. On his arrival the king had recourse to his advice and authority respecting his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III., king of Scotland, niece to Edgar Ætheling, and great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. This lady, whom the English called Edith, had been educated under her aunt Christina in the nunnery of Romsey. She had taken the veil, but not the vows required of a nun, and doubts arose concerning the lawfulness of the act contemplated by Henry. The affair was examined by Anselm, in a council of the prelates and nobles summoned at Lambeth. Matilda proved that she had put on the veil, not with a view of entering a religious life, but as other English ladies had done, to protect her chastity from the brutal violence of the Normans. The council pronounced that she was free to marry; and her espousals with Henry were celebrated by Anselm with great pomp and solemnity, to the delight of his English subjects. His marriage with the "good queen Maud," the heiress "of the right royal race of England" as she is styled in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, united the English and Norman blood in the person of her grandson, Henry II.

§ 8. Meanwhile Robert had taken possession of Normandy without opposition, and immediately made preparations for recovering England. The fame which he had acquired in the East assisted his pretensions, and many of the Norman barons, still further alienated by the king's marriage, invited Robert to take the crown, and promised to join him in the attempt with all their forces. At the end of July, 1101, Robert landed at Portsmouth; and Henry, who had collected his forces chiefly through the influence of the primate, advanced to meet him. The two armies lay in sight of each other for some days without coming to action, and both princes, apprehensive of the result, hearkened the more willingly to the counsels of Anselm and others, who mediated an accommodation between them. It was agreed that Robert should

* The term *witan*, that is, the Anglo-Saxon term for any council or assembly of nobles and prelates, now drops out of use, and is supplanted, as in this charter, by the Latin equivalent *barones*. The *witan*

and *barons*, however, to whom Henry owed his election, consisted of four only.

† Both charters are printed in Professor Stubbs's *Documents illustrative of English History*.

resign his pretensions to England, and receive in lieu of them an annual pension of 3000 marks; that, if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned and restored to their possessions, whether in Normandy or in England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforth encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other.

§ 9. The indiscretion of Robert soon made him a victim to Henry's ambitious schemes. During the reign of this indulgent and dissolute prince, Normandy became a scene of violence and depredation; and Henry, finding that the nobility were more disposed to pay submission to him than to their legal sovereign, collected a great army and treasure in England, and landed in Normandy in 1105. In the second campaign he gained a decisive victory before the castle of Tinchebray, in which nearly 10,000 prisoners were taken, among whom was Robert himself, and the most considerable barons who adhered to his interests. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy (1106). Having received the homage of all the vassals of the duchy, Henry returned into England, and carried the duke along with him. The unfortunate prince was detained in custody during the remainder of his life, for no less a period than 28 years, and died in the castle of Cardiff, in Glamorganshire (1134). William, his only son, who had also been captured, was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and, being a man of probity and honour, he executed the trust with great affection and fidelity. To Edgar Ætheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jerusalem, had lived with him ever since in Normandy, and was taken at Tinchebray, Henry granted his liberty and a small pension. He lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was distinguished by personal bravery; but nothing can be a stronger proof of the meanness of his talents than that he was allowed to live unmolested and go to his grave in peace.

§ 10. A controversy had long been depending between Henry and Anselm, with regard to investitures. Before bishops took possession of their dignities they had been accustomed, since the days of Charlemagne, to pass through two ceremonies. From the hands of the sovereign they received a ring and a crozier, as symbols of their spiritual office, and this was called their *investiture*; they also made those submissions to the sovereign for their lands which were required of all vassals by the feudal law, and this act was known by the name of *homage*. As the king might refuse both *investiture* and *homage*, he could neutralize the right of election granted to the chapter by the Lateran council of 1059, and engross the sole power

of appointing prelates. In 1074 Gregory VII. had forbidden the practice. His example was followed by Pascal II., who now filled the papal throne, and who supported Anselm in his refusal to accept investiture from Henry's hands, and threatened to excommunicate the king for persisting in his demands. But Henry had established his power so firmly in England and Normandy, that the pope consented to a compromise. Henry resigned the right of granting investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was supposed to be conferred; and Pascal allowed the bishops to do homage for their temporal possessions. The pontiff was well pleased to have gained this advantage, which he hoped would in time secure the whole; whilst the king, anxious to escape from a dangerous situation, was content to retain a substantial authority in the election of prelates.

§ 11. The acquisition of Normandy had been a great object of Henry's ambition; but it proved the source of great disquietude, involved him in frequent wars, and obliged him to impose on his English subjects those heavy and arbitrary taxes of which the historians of that age complain. The cause of William, the son of Robert, was espoused by Louis the Fat, king of France, and by other continental princes. The wars which ensued required Henry's frequent presence in Normandy; and, though he was generally successful, he was not released from anxiety on this account till the year 1128, when his nephew was killed in a skirmish, shortly after he had been created count of Flanders by the French monarch.

Eight years previously, Henry had received a terrible blow in the loss of his only son William. In 1120 the king, having concluded in Normandy a treaty of peace with the French king, set sail from Barfleur on his return, and was soon carried by a fair wind out of sight of land. His son William and his young companions, who were to follow in a vessel called the *White Ship*, wasted the time in feasting and revelry. On leaving the harbour, the ship was heedlessly carried on a rock, and immediately foundered. William, escaping in the long boat, had got clear of the ship, when, hearing the cries of his natural sister, Adela, countess of Perche, he ordered the seamen to put back in hopes of saving her: but the numbers who crowded in sunk the boat, and the prince, with all his retinue, perished. Above 140 young nobles, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. Bertold, a butcher of Rouen, who alone escaped to tell the tale, clung to the mast, and was taken up next morning by fishermen. Fitz-Stephen, the captain of the ship, who had also gained the mast, being informed by the butcher that prince William was lost, refused to survive the disaster, and perished in the sea. For three days Henry

entertained hopes that his son had escaped to some distant port of England; but when certain intelligence of the calamity was brought him he fainted away; and it was remarked that he never after was seen to smile, nor ever recovered his former cheerfulness.

§ 12. William left no children, and the king now turned his thoughts to Matilda, his only surviving child, whom, in 1110, he had betrothed, though only eight years of age, to the emperor Henry V., and had sent over to be educated in Germany. The king had lost his consort, "the good queen Maud," in 1118, and after the death of his son he was induced to marry, in 1121, Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Louvain, and niece of pope Calixtus II. As the emperor died without issue in 1125, Henry sent for his widowed daughter, and endeavoured to insure her succession by having her recognized as heir to all his dominions, and obliging the barons, both of Normandy and England, to swear fealty to her at Christmas, 1126. Two years later, motives of policy led him to give Matilda in marriage to Geoffrey the Handsome, son of his most formidable enemy, Fulk, count of Anjou. Geoffrey succeeded his father in 1129; and in 1131 Henry brought Matilda to England, and caused the nobles to renew their oath to her at Northampton. In 1133 she bore a son, at Le Mans, who was named Henry after his grandfather. During the latter years of his reign Henry resided chiefly in Normandy, where he died December 1, 1135, from a surfeit of lampreys, in the 67th year of his age, and the 35th of his reign. By his will he left Matilda heir of all his dominions, without making any mention of her husband Geoffrey, who had given him several causes of displeasure. His body was carried to England, and interred at Reading, in the abbey of St. Mary, which he had founded.

Henry, like his father, was a monarch of great ability, and possessed many qualities both of body and mind, natural and acquired, fitted for the high station to which he attained. His person was manly, his countenance engaging, his eyes clear, serene, and penetrating. From his early progress in letters he acquired the name of *Beaumont*, or the Scholar; but his application to such sedentary pursuits abated nothing, in after life, of the activity and vigilance of his government. He carried the oppressions of the forest laws to an extreme, and, though he restrained the tyranny of his nobles, he set no limits to his own arbitrary and avaricious temper. He was susceptible of the sentiments as well of friendship as of resentment; but his conduct towards his brother and nephew showed that he was too disposed to sacrifice to his ambition all the dictates of justice and equity.

§ 13. **STEPHEN**, *b. A.D. 1096, r. 1135-1154.* — Adela, fourth daughter of William the Conqueror, had been married to Stephen, count of Blois, and had brought him several sons, among whom Henry and Stephen, the two now surviving, had been invited over to England by the late king. Henry was created bishop of Winchester, and Stephen was endowed with great estates. In 1107 the king married him to Matilda, daughter and heir of Eustace, count of Boulogne, who brought him, besides a feudal sovereignty in France, immense property in England. Stephen, in return, professed great attachment to his uncle, and had been among the first to take the oath for the succession of Matilda. But no sooner had Henry breathed his last, than, insensible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, he hastened over to England, and stopped not till he arrived in London, where he was hailed by the citizens as their deliverer, and immediately saluted king. This irregular election was confirmed by the nobles, who disliked Matilda and her Angevin marriage, and hoped for license under a sovereign who had a doubtful title and an easy temper. It was pretended that the late king on his deathbed had disinherited Matilda, and had expressed an intention of leaving Stephen heir to all his dominions. William, archbishop of Canterbury, with some misgivings, placed the crown upon Stephen's head on St. Stephen's Day (December 26).

To secure the favour of his subjects, and strengthen his tottering throne, Stephen granted a charter, and promised to maintain the immunities of the church, the laws and liberties of his subjects, and to observe the good customs of the Confessor. He invited over from the continent, particularly from Brittany and Flanders, great numbers of mercenary and disorderly soldiers, with whom every country in Europe at that time abounded; and he procured a bull from Rome, which ratified his title.

§ 14. Matilda and her husband, Geoffrey, were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. The Norman nobility, hearing that Stephen had obtained the English crown, put him in possession of their government. Even Robert, earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, who was much attached to the interests of his sister Matilda and zealous for the lineal succession, submitted to Stephen, and took the oath of fealty, but with an express condition that his rights and dignities should be preserved inviolate. In return for their submission, Stephen allowed many of the barons to fortify castles and put themselves in a posture of defence. As the king found himself totally unable to refuse these exorbitant demands, England was immediately filled with fortresses, which the nobles garrisoned either with their vassals, or with mercenary soldiers, who flocked to them from all quarters. .

In 1138 David, king of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defence of his niece's title, and penetrated into Yorkshire, where his wild Galwegians and Highlanders committed the most barbarous ravages. Enraged by this cruelty, the northern clergy and nobility assembled an army, with which they encamped at Northallerton, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. A great battle was fought, called the battle of the *Standard*, from the consecrated banners of St. Cuthbert of Durham, St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon, which were erected by the English on a wagon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign. The king of Scots was defeated, and he himself, as well as his son Henry, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English (August 22, 1138).

§ 15. This success might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, had he not, with incredible imprudence, engaged in a controversy with the clergy. In imitation of the nobility, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln had erected strong fortresses, and Stephen, who was now sensible from experience of the mischiefs attending these multiplied citadels, resolved to begin with destroying those of the clergy. Accordingly, he first seized the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, threw them into prison, and obliging them by menaces to deliver up the strongholds they had lately erected, he then turned his arms against the bishop of Ely. To the surprise of Stephen, the cause of the prelates was espoused by his own brother, Henry, bishop of Winchester, and papal legate. At a synod assembled at Winchester, complaints were made of the king's proceedings, and Stephen promised redress; but the empress Matilda, invited by this opportunity, and encouraged by the legate himself, had now landed in England, with Robert, earl of Gloucester (who had renounced his allegiance the year before), and a small retinue of knights (1139). She fixed her residence first at Arundel castle. The gates were opened to her by Adelais, her stepmother. Many barons declared for her, and open war broke out between the two parties. A frightful state of anarchy ensued. The castles of the nobility had become receptacles of licensed robbers, who, sallying forth day and night, committed spoil in the open country, the defenceless villages, and even the cities. They put their captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treasures; sold their persons into slavery; and set fire to their houses after they had pillaged them of everything valuable. The land was left untilled; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned; and a grievous famine, the natural result of those disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers and their victims to the extremity of indigence and hunger.

The unexpected capture of Stephen himself by the earl of Gloucester, at Lincoln, seemed to promise an end to these calamities. He was conducted to Gloucester, and, though at first treated with humanity, was soon after loaded with irons, and imprisoned at Bristol (1141). The claims of Matilda were solemnly recognized in a synod held at Winchester by Stephen's brother, the legate. The Londoners, who clamoured in vain for Stephen's release, were obliged to submit; and Matilda's authority, by the prudence of earl Robert, seemed to be established over the whole kingdom. But besides the disadvantage of her sex, which weakened her influence over a turbulent and martial people, Matilda was of a passionate, imperious spirit, and knew not how to temper with affability the harshness of a refusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, and by the citizens of London, petitioned for the liberty of her husband, and undertook that on this condition he should renounce the crown and retire into a convent. The offended legate, who desired that his nephew Eustace might inherit Boulogne and the other patrimonial estates of his father, retired to Winchester in disgust, and sided with Stephen's partisans. The Londoners were alienated by a heavy fine imposed upon them for the support they had given to Stephen. To check the designs of the legate, he was besieged by the empress at Winchester. The bishop held his palace and Maud the castle; and the burning of that ancient capital put an end to its rivalry with London. At length the legate, having joined his force to that of the Londoners, besieged Matilda. Hard pressed by famine, she made her escape; but in the flight earl Robert, her brother, while covering her retreat, fell into the hands of the enemy. This nobleman was as much the life and soul of one party, as Stephen was of the other; and Matilda, sensible of his merit and importance, consented to exchange prisoners on equal terms (Nov. 1, 1141). Next year the civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever. Matilda retired to Oxford, was besieged by the legate, and escaped through the snow to Walsingham, scantly attended (Dec. 20). The war continued to rage for three years longer with variable success; the empress holding the west of England, and Stephen the east and London, the barons being too disaffected towards both to bring the contest to a decision. Earl Robert died in 1145, and the empress retired into Normandy (1146).

§ 16. In 1149 Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, proceeded into Scotland, from which place he made various incursions into England, but with little success. By his dexterity and vigour, his valour in war, and his prudent conduct, he roused the hopes of his party, and gave indications of those great qualities which he afterwards dis-

played when he mounted the throne. After his return to Normandy he was, by Matilda's consent, invested with the duchy, and upon the death of his father, Geoffrey, in 1150, he took possession of Anjou. His dominions were still further augmented by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter and heir of William, duke of Guienne and count of Poitou (1152), whom Louis VII. of France had divorced on account of the levity of her conduct. By this marriage he obtained possession of Guienne, Poitou, and other provinces in the south of France included under the name of Aquitaine. Enabled to push his fortunes in England with greater chance of success, Henry was encouraged to make an invasion; and landing in England at the end of 1152, he gained some advantages over Stephen, who had finally broken with the church by his attempt to procure the coronation of his son Eustace, which had been forbidden by a papal bull obtained by archbishop Theobald. A decisive action was every day expected; when the great men of both sides, and especially the archbishop and Henry, the legate, terrified at the prospect of further bloodshed and confusion, interposed with their good offices, and set on foot a negociation between the rival princes. The death of Stephen's son, Eustace (August 18), facilitated arrangements. It was agreed by the treaty of Wallingford that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his lifetime, and that upon his demise Henry should succeed to the kingdom (November, 1153). After all the barons had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry, as heir to the crown, that prince evacuated the kingdom; and the death of Stephen, which happened the next year after a short illness (October 25, 1154), prevented all those quarrels and jealousies which were likely to have ensued from so delicate a situation.

England suffered great miseries during the reign of this prince, but his personal character was not liable to any great exception. He possessed industry, activity, and courage to a great degree. Though not endowed with a sound judgment, he was not deficient in abilities. He had the talent of gaining men's affections; and notwithstanding his precarious situation, he never indulged himself in the exercise of cruelty or revenge. He is commonly branded as a usurper; but as the right of direct lineal sucession was not firmly established till the time of Edward I., his seizing of the crown, regarded in itself, was no more an act of usurpation than that of his two predecessors. He must, however, be condemned for breaking his oath of fealty to Matilda, the daughter of his benefactor.



Henry II. From his monument at Fontevraud.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EARLY PLANTAGENET KINGS.

HENRY II. AND RICHARD I. A.D. 1154-1199.

§ 1. Accession of HENRY II. First acts of his government. § 2. His wars and acquisitions in France. § 3. Ecclesiastical disputes. Thomas Becket. § 4. Constitutions of Clarendon. § 5. Opposed by Becket. § 6. Compromise with Becket and return of that prelate. § 7. Becket assassinated. § 8. Grief and submission of the king. § 9. Conquest of Ireland. § 10. Revolt of the young king Henry and his brothers. § 11. Henry's penance at the tomb of Becket. Peace with his sons. § 12. Death of the young king Henry. § 13. Preparations for a Crusade. Family misfortunes and death of the king. His character. § 14. Accession of RICHARD I. Preparations for the Crusade. § 15. Adventures on the voyage. § 16. Transactions in Palestine. § 17. The king's return and captivity in Germany. His brother John and Philip of France invade his dominions. § 18. Liberation of Richard and return to England. § 19. War with France. Death and character of the king.

§ 1. HENRY II., b. 1133; r. 1154-1189.—Henry II., who now ascended the throne, was the first monarch of the house of the Plantagenets, whose name was derived from the *planta genista*, the Spanish broom-plant, a sprig of which was commonly worn in his hat by Geoffrey, Henry's father. The Plantagenets reigned over England for more than three centuries, and to this family all the English monarchs belonged from Henry II. to Richard III. (A.D. 1154-1485); but after the deposition of Richard II. the line-

was divided into the houses of Lancaster and York. To Lancaster belonged Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. (1399-1461), and to York Edward IV., Edward V., and Richard III. (1461-1485). The name of Plantagenet was especially used as a distinctive surname by Edward IV. Henry II. and his two sons are also called *Angevins*. They were more intimately connected with France by their character and possessions than even the Norman princes, and it was not till the loss of Normandy under John, that the interests of the royal house were exclusively centred in England.

No opposition was offered to the accession of Henry. He was in Normandy at the time of Stephen's death, and upon his arrival in England he was received with the acclamations of all orders of men. He was crowned on Sunday, the 19th of December. The first acts of his government corresponded to the idea entertained of his abilities, and prognosticated the re-establishment of that justice and tranquillity, of which the kingdom had so long been bereaved. He dismissed the mercenary soldiers who had committed great disorders; revoked all grants made by his predecessor, even those which necessity had extorted from the empress Matilda; and he reformed the coin, which had been extremely debased during the reign of his predecessor. He was rigorous in the execution of justice, and in the suppression of robbery and violence. To maintain his authority, he caused all the newly erected castles to be demolished, which had proved so many sanctuaries for freebooters and rebels.

§ 2. The continental possessions of Henry were far more extensive than those of any of his predecessors. In the right of his father, he held Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; in that of his mother, Normandy; in the right of his wife, Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limousin. These provinces composed above a third of the whole of France, and were much superior, in extent and opulence, to the territories immediately subjected to the jurisdiction and government of the French monarch. On the death of his brother Geoffrey in 1158, Henry laid claim to Nantes, which had been put into Geoffrey's hands by the inhabitants, after they had expelled count Hoel, their former prince. That Louis VII. might not interpose and obstruct his design, Henry paid him a visit, and by the skilful diplomacy of Thomas à Becket it was arranged that young Henry, heir to the English monarchy, should be affianced to Margaret of France, though the former was only five years of age and the latter was still in her cradle. Secure against all interruption on this side, Henry now advanced with an army into Brittany. The duke Conan,

in despair of being able to resist, not only delivered up the county of Nantes, which he had seized on pretence of being wrongfully dispossessed, but also betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third son, who was of the same tender years. On the death of the duke of Brittany, about seven years after, Henry, as *mesne* lord and natural guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, took possession of that principality, and annexed it to his other dominions.

§ 3. In 1162 commenced the long and memorable struggle between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket.

Thomas Becket, or à Becket, as he is generally called, was the first man of English birth who, since the Norman conquest, had risen to any considerable station. He was born (1119) of respectable parents, in the city of London;* was educated by the prior of Merton, sent to Oxford, and afterwards to Paris. Introduced into the household of archbishop Theobald, he readily acquired great influence over the primate; was enabled by his means to study jurisprudence at Bologna; and on his return to England was promoted to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, to the provostship of Beverley, and other valuable preferments. His genius, intrepidity, and knowledge of the law, were of great service to Theobald in the troublesome times of king Stephen; and shortly after Henry's accession, he was recommended by his patron to the new king's notice. He soon ingratiated himself with Henry, as he had done with the archbishop, and in 1157 was appointed chancellor. Besides this high office, he held several baronies that had escheated to the crown; and, to enhance his greatness, he was intrusted with the education of Henry, the king's eldest son, and heir to the monarchy. The pomp of his retinue, the sumptuousness of his furniture, the luxury of his table, the munificence of his presents, corresponded to these great preferments. His historian and secretary, Fitz-Stephen, mentions, among other particulars, that his apartments were every day in winter covered with clean straw or hay, and in summer with green rushes or boughs, lest the gentlemen who paid court to him, and could not, by reason of their great number, find a place at table, should soil their fine clothes by sitting on the floor. A great number of knights were retained in his service; the greatest barons were proud of being received at his table; his house was a place of education for the sons of the chief nobility; and the king himself frequently vouchsafed to partake of his entertainments, and lay aside with his favourite the dignity of royalty.

Becket, who by his complaisance and good humour had rendered

* An anonymous author states that his parents had migrated from Normandy.

himself agreeable, and by his industry and abilities useful, to his master, appeared to be the fittest person for supplying the vacancy caused by the death of Theobald. As he was well acquainted with the king's intentions of retrenching the ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy, Henry, never expecting any resistance, immediately issued orders for electing Becket archbishop of Canterbury (May 24, 1162). Nor was he inclined to waver in his purpose, though Becket, it is said, had warned him not to expect from him, as archbishop, the same undivided devotion to the royal interests he had exhibited as chancellor. No sooner was he installed in this new dignity, than he altered his demeanour and conduct. Without waiting for Henry's return from Normandy, he resigned into his hands his commission as chancellor; and he now stood forth as the champion of the church, the assertor of its rights, and of his own privileges, as the highest constitutional adviser of the crown. He maintained, in his retinue and attendants at his table and in public, his ancient pomp and lustre; but in his own person he practised the greatest austerity. He wore sackcloth next his skin; was strictly temperate in his diet, and abundant in his charity to the poor, feeding them with the dishes from his own table. In person, or by deputy, he washed daily on his knees, in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars. Relying on a sort of promise made to him by the king, the new archbishop proceeded to demand from his former associates the restitution of estates belonging to his see, which he accused them of retaining unjustly.

He thus became embarked, as he had been in the days of Theobald, in defence of the church's rights against the powerful barons; and as the king was equally zealous in maintaining and augmenting the power of the monarchy, a rupture between them became imminent. The tenants in chief in different counties had been accustomed to pay two shillings for every hide of land to the sheriffs, as a voluntary gift, for their own security. This money the king desired to confiscate to his own use, and thus convert a voluntary into a compulsory tax. He broached this proposal at a council at Woodstock, and when all stood blank with astonishment, Becket ventured to object. "By God's eyes!" said the king, "it shall be paid as I require." "By the reverence of those eyes by which you have sworn," replied the archbishop, "it shall never be paid from my lands whilst I am alive." "He carried his point," says Professor Pearson, "and is the first Englishman on record who defeated an unjust tax." *

* Hist. of England, i. 495. See Roger Pounteney, p. 113, and Grim, 21. Professor Stubbs thinks that the tax referred to was the Danegeld; but this supposition is irreconcilable with the statements of Grim and Roger.

Three months after, a fresh quarrel ensued. Since the Conquest the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction had been sharply divided. The priest was no longer to judge the offences of laymen, and by parity of argument, the layman was not to judge the priest. But whilst the temporal laws were severe, and could restrain crime by death or mutilation, the clerical tribunals were regulated by the milder code of the canon law, which forbade the shedding of blood. Its utmost censure proceeded no farther than degrading the ecclesiastic and reducing him to the condition of the laity, when he might be punished by the lay tribunals for a fresh offence, but not for any he had formerly committed. In the disorders of the last reign discipline had been wholly relaxed, and many unworthy clerks had entered the church to shelter themselves and their crimes under its immunities. Henry proposed, at a council at Westminster (1163), that clerks guilty of felony should be degraded, and then handed over to the lay tribunals, to be hanged or mutilated, as justice might require. The proposal was opposed by Becket, as contrary to the customs of the nation and the privileges of the church. He insisted that clerks should be tried in the ecclesiastical courts, and be degraded if found guilty, but not be punished twice for the same offence. Shortly after the king required of the bishops and clergy to observe the laws of his grandfather, Henry I. But as no one could tell what those laws were, and to allow them to be determined by secular judges would have surrendered the whole question in dispute, Becket prevailed upon the bishops to consent, "saving the honour of God and their order." The king dismissed the assembly in wrath, took from the archbishop the manors of Eye and Berkhamstead, and persistently refused all his offers of reconciliation.

§ 4. Resolved to carry out his purpose, Henry summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon (January 25, 1164), when the laws, commonly called the *Constitutions of Clarendon*,* were enacted. They consisted of 16 articles, of which the following are the most important:—That bishops and abbots should do homage to the king, as their liege lord—that they should not appeal to Rome, or quit the country without his leave—that they should neither be elected without his consent, nor excommunicate any tenant *in capite* without the king's permission—that the sons of serfs should not be ordained without consent of their lord—finally, that the clergy should be amenable to the king's courts in all causes not exclusively spiritual.

§ 5. To these articles, which seemed to aim at the independence

* The *Assise of Clarendon* was not | *Constitutions* will be found in *Stubbe, issued till the year 1166. This and the | Documents, &c., p. 129.*

of the church—the only body which, in the absence of parliament or public opinion, could at that time exercise any moral control over kings or their officers—Becket demurred. Moved at last by the entreaties of his brethren, whom the king had terrified into compliance, the primate gave a reluctant and general consent, but immediately repented of his act. He redoubled his penance, suspended himself from offering mass, and wrote to the pope for absolution. Resolved upon his ruin, the king summoned a council at Northampton (Oct. 6, 1164). Becket was condemned for not having personally appeared to a suit instituted against him respecting certain lands, and as wanting in the fealty he had sworn to his sovereign. His goods and chattels were confiscated. Not content with this sentence, the king further demanded of him, on various pretexts, large sums of money; and finally required him to give in the accounts of his administration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelacies, abbeys, and baronies which had, during that time, been subjected to his management. By the advice of the bishop of Winchester, Becket offered 2000 marks as a general satisfaction for all demands; but his offer was rejected. On the seventh and last day of the council (Oct. 13), the archbishop entered the king's hall, bearing his cross before him. It was understood that he had come to forbid his suffragans to take any further part in the proceedings. Fierce words ensued. As he moved to the door, the nobles cried out, "Traitor and perjurer;" but the people fell on their knees and implored his blessing. Considering his life in danger, he asked Henry's permission to leave Northampton. On his refusal, he withdrew secretly, proceeded to the Kentish coast disguised as a monk, under the name of Brother Christian, and at last took shipping and arrived safely at Gravelines. Henry revenged himself by sequestering the revenues of the see of Canterbury, and banishing the adherents and kinsfolk of the archbishop, to the number of 400, in the depth of winter.

§ 6. Louis VII., king of France, jealous of the rising greatness of Henry, and the pope, whose interests were more immediately concerned in supporting Becket, received him with the greatest marks of distinction. A war ensued between Louis and Henry; and the pope menaced Henry with excommunication. In 1169 peace was concluded between the two monarchs; and the pope and Henry began at last to perceive that, in the present situation of affairs, neither of them could expect a final and decisive victory. After many negotiations, all difficulties were adjusted (July, 1170). The king allowed Becket to return, after six years' banishment. But the king attained not that tranquillity he had hoped. During



the heat of his quarrel with Becket, while he was every day expecting excommunication, he had thought it prudent to have his son Henry, now fifteen years old, associated with him in the kingdom. He was consequently crowned by Roger, archbishop of York (June 14, 1170).* But Becket, claiming the sole right, as archbishop of Canterbury, of officiating in the coronation, had inhibited all the prelates of England from assisting at the ceremony, and had procured from the pope a mandate to the same purpose. On his arrival in England on the first of December, he notified to the archbishop of York the sentence of suspension, and to the bishops of London and Salisbury that of excommunication, which, at his solicitation, the pope had pronounced against them. As he proceeded to take possession of his diocese, he was received in Rochester, and all the towns through which he passed, with the shouts and acclamations of the populace. In Southwark the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages, came forth to meet him, and celebrated with hymns of joy his triumphant return.

§ 7. Arriving at his see, he found that the property had been grievously wasted in his absence by Ranulph de Broc, the sequestrator appointed by the king, and he fulminated the church's censures against the offender. Meanwhile, the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Bur, near Bayeux, where the king then resided, and complained of the violent proceedings of Becket. Henry, furious at their report, declaimed more than once against the ingratitude of his courtiers, who were slow to avenge him on a base-born priest. Taking these passionate expressions for a hint, four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Brito, or the Breton, immediately took counsel; and, swearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court. Some menacing expressions which they had dropped gave a suspicion of their design; and the king despatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate: but these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. Repairing by different routes to Saltwood,† where De Broc resided (Dec. 28), they spent that night, the Feast of *The Holy Innocents*, in planning the murder. Next day they proceeded in great haste to the archiepiscopal palace of Canter-

* Prince Henry was called "the young king," and his father "the old king," though he was only thirty-seven years old now and fifty-six when he died. The young king is often styled Henry III. in old books.

† This castle, which was claimed by ENGLAND.—PT. I.

Becket as belonging to his see, was held for the king by the royal officers, Robert and Ranulf de Broc. Robert accompanied the knights to Canterbury, and Ranulf sheltered them for the night, after the murder.

bury, pretending business from the king. They found the primate slenderly attended; and, among other menaces and reproaches, required him to quit the country, or absolve the excommunicated prelates. Alarmed by the threats of the knights, the monks hurried the archbishop into the transept, where vespers had already commenced. The assassins, who had retired to arm themselves, reappeared at the church door, which the monks would have fastened, but Becket forbade them to convert the house of God into a fortress. In the dim twilight the trembling monks concealed themselves under the altars and behind the pillars of the church. Becket was mounting the steps that led from the north transept into the choir, when the murderers rushed in; he then turned round, came down, and confronted them. Fitz-Urse, wielding in his hand a glittering axe, was the first to approach him, exclaiming, "Where is the traitor? Where is the archbishop?" At the second call Becket replied, "Reginald, here I am, no traitor, but an archbishop and priest of God: what do you wish?" and passing by him, took up his station between the central pillar and the massive wall which still forms the south-west corner of what was then the chapel of St. Benedict. On his repeated refusal to revoke the excommunication, the assassins attempted to drag him out of the church, in order to despatch him outside the sacred precincts. But Becket resisted with all his might, and, exerting his great strength, flung Tracy down upon the pavement. Finding it hopeless to remove him, Fitz-Urse approached him with his drawn sword, and, waving it over his head, dashed off his cowl. Thereupon Tracy sprang forward and struck a more decisive blow. Grim, a monk of Cambridge, who up to this moment had his arm round Becket, threw it up to intercept the blade. The blow lighted upon the arm of the monk, which fell wounded or broken, and the spent force of the stroke descending on Becket's head, grazed the crown, and finally resting on the left shoulder, cut through the clothes and skin. At the next blow, struck by Tracy or Fitz-Urse, upon his bleeding head, Becket drew back, as if stunned, and then raised his clasped hands above it. The blood from the first blow was trickling down his face in a thin streak; he wiped it with his arm, and when he saw the stain he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." At the third stroke, he sank on his knees, and murmured in a low voice, "For the name of Jesus and in defence of the church I am willing to die." Without moving hand or foot, he fell flat on his face as he spoke, and, while in this posture, received from Richard the Breton a tremendous blow upon the skull. A subdeacon named Hugh, an associate of the assassins, planting his foot on the neck of the corpse, caused

the blood and brains to spirt out upon the pavement. This foul deed was perpetrated on Tuesday, the 29th December (A.D. 1170) a day long memorable in England as the martyrdom of St. Thomas.

Thomas Becket was a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, and no one who enters into the genius of that age can reasonably doubt of his sincerity. Nor does it detract from his sincerity, that he was sometimes actuated by mixed motives, in which it was difficult to determine whether his zeal for the church or his own personal wrongs and offended dignity had the upper hand. He had to contend, as he believed, for the independence of the clergy, against a monarch no less powerful, energetic, and absolute than Henry II. He had to defend the spiritual against the aggressions of the temporal authority, armed with all the wealth, the territorial possessions, and the influence of a monarch more powerful than any in Christendom. Right as it undoubtedly was for Henry to maintain the supremacy of the crown, and render the clergy amenable for criminal offences to the temporal courts, the assertion of an authority vesting on some higher sanction than the will of the monarch was no less needful and important.

§ 8. The intelligence of the murder threw the king into great consternation. The point of chief importance to Henry was to convince the pope of his innocence; or, rather, to persuade him that he would reap greater advantages from the submission of England than from proceeding to extremities against that kingdom. By the skill of his ambassadors he found means to appease the pontiff, whose anathemas were only levelled in general against all the actors, accomplices, and abettors of Becket's murder. The cardinals Albert and Theotwin were appointed legates to examine the cause, and were ordered to proceed to Normandy for that purpose. Henry made his submission, denying all complicity in the murder of the archbishop, and rescinding the Constitutions of Clarendon. Three years after his death, Becket was canonized by pope Alexander III.; his body was removed to a magnificent shrine, enriched with presents, and visited by pilgrims from all parts of Christendom.

§ 9. As soon as Henry found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, he undertook a long-projected expedition into Ireland.

As Britain was first peopled from Gaul, so was Ireland probably from Britain. The Irish were converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, about the middle of the 5th century; and the ecclesiastics of that country preserved a considerable share of learning when other nations were buried in ignorance. The invasions of the Danes

and Northmen in the eighth century plunged Ireland again into barbarism, from which, however, the towns which those invaders founded on the coast—Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick—were now beginning to emerge. Besides many small tribes, there were, in the age of Henry II., five principal sovereignties in the island—Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; one or other of which was commonly paramount in Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, held that dignity at this time. The ambition of Henry, very early in his reign, had been set on attempting the subjection of Ireland. A pretext only was wanting. For this purpose he had recourse to Rome, which assumed a right to dispose of kingdoms and empires, and especially of islands, according to the alleged donation of Constantine. Adrian IV. (Breakspeare), the only Englishman who has ever sat upon the papal throne, gladly availed himself of the opportunity of bringing the Irish church under the dominion of Rome; and therefore, in the year 1155, he issued a bull in favour of Henry, giving him entire right and authority over Ireland. The king, however, was at that time prevented by various causes from putting his design into execution.

Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, had carried off Dervorghal, wife of O'Ruarc, prince of Breffny (Leitrim). Her husband, collecting his forces, and strengthened by the alliance of Roderic, king of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and drove him from his kingdom. The exiled prince craved the assistance of Henry, and offered, in the event of being restored to his kingdom, to hold it in vassalage under the crown of England (1168). Embarrassed by the rebellions of his French subjects at that time, as well as by his disputes with the see of Rome, Henry gave Dermot no further assistance than letters patent, empowering all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Supported by this authority, Dermot formed an alliance with Richard, earl of Chepstow or Strigul, surnamed Strongbow, son of Gilbert de Clare. Richard had dissipated his fortune; and being ready for any desperate undertaking, he promised to assist Dermot on condition of espousing Eva, daughter of that prince, and being declared heir to the kingdom of Leinster. While Richard was assembling his forces, Dermot engaged the assistance of two other knights in South Wales, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. In 1170 Fitz-Stephen crossed over to Ireland with a small force and took the town of Wexford; and was shortly afterwards joined by Fitz-Gerald. Next year Richard de Clare, having obtained an ambiguous permission from Henry to embark in the enterprise, landed in Ireland, took Waterford and Dublin, and, marrying Eva,

became soon after, by the death of Dermot, master of Leinster, and prepared to extend his authority over the rest of Ireland. Roderic, and other Irish princes, alarmed at the danger, besieged Dublin with an army of 30,000 men: but earl Richard, making a sudden sally at the head of 90 knights with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chased them from the field, and pursued them with great slaughter. None in Ireland now dared to oppose themselves to the English.

Henry now determined to attack Ireland in person, and landed at Waterford at the head of 400 knights and 4000 soldiers. He found the Irish so dispirited by their late misfortunes, that, in a progress which he made through the island, he had no other occupation than to receive the homage of his new subjects. The clergy, in a synod at Cashel, not only made submission to Henry, but agreed to alterations which brought the native church nearer to the English model (1172). Appointing Richard seneschal of Ireland, he returned in triumph to England, after a stay of six months. Thus was Ireland subdued and annexed to the English crown, whose king became "Lord of Ireland."

§ 10. The king's precaution in establishing the several branches of his family seemed well calculated to prevent all jealousy among his children. He had appointed Henry, his eldest surviving son,* to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; Richard, his third son, was invested with the duchy of Guienne and county of Poitou; Geoffrey his fourth son, by right of his wife, had the duchy of Brittany; and the new conquest of Ireland was destined as an appanage for John, the youngest. But his hopes were frustrated. In 1173 his three eldest sons fled to the court of France, and demanded of their father immediate possession of a portion, at any rate, of the territories promised them. They had been encouraged in their filial disobedience by their mother, Eleanor, who, offended with her husband on account of his infidelities, had attempted to fly to France, but was seized and thrown into confinement. Young Henry had also been instigated by his father-in-law, Louis VII., who persuaded him that the fact of his having been crowned as king conferred upon him the right of participating in the throne. Many of the Norman nobility deserted to the prince. The Breton and Gascon barons seemed equally disposed to embrace the quarrel of Geoffrey and Richard. Disaffection crept in among the English; and the earls of Leicester and Chester, in particular, openly declared against the king. On the continent, however, Henry obtained at all points, and without much

* His firstborn, William, had died an infant, in 1156.

difficulty, the advantage over his enemies. The defeat of Leicester, at Forneham, in Suffolk (October, 1173), was followed by fresh hostilities the next year. William the Lion, king of Scotland, also entered into this great confederacy; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion at different parts of the king's extensive and factious dominions. The king of Scots crossed the border. Several of the counties were in open revolt. The belief gained ground that the king had been privy to the murder of the archbishop, and that these disasters were a judgment upon him.

§ 11. Under these circumstances Henry resolved to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the martyr, and humble himself before the ashes of the saint. He crossed over from Normandy in 1174, and on July 12 entered Canterbury. As soon as he came within sight of the cathedral he dismounted, walked barefoot towards it, prostrated himself before the shrine of St. Thomas, remained in fasting and prayer for a whole day, and watched all night the holy reliques. He even submitted to a penance still more humiliating. He assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes successively inflicted upon him. Next day he received absolution; and departing for London, received soon after the welcome intelligence of a great victory over the Scots at Alnwick, and of the capture of their king. As this success was gained on the very day of his absolution, it was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with St. Thomas. The victory proved decisive. In less than three weeks all opposition disappeared, and Henry's rebellious subjects hastened to make their submissions. Louis was glad to conclude a peace; his sons returned to their obedience; and William, king of Scotland, who had been imprisoned at Falaise, was compelled with all his barons and prelates to do homage in the cathedral of York, and to acknowledge Henry and his successors for their superior lord (1175). Berwick, Roxburgh, and other important places, were ceded to the English monarch, and the castle of Edinburgh was placed in his hands.

§ 12. Thus extricated with honour, contrary to expectation, from a situation in which his throne was exposed to great danger, Henry employed himself for several years in improving the internal administration of his kingdom. One of the most important of his enactments was the appointment of itinerant justices, of which institution an account is given at the close of this book. Another was the substitution in certain cases of a trial by sixteen sworn recognitors in place of the trial by battle.

The success which had attended Henry in his wars prevented his neighbours from forming any fresh projects against him. In 1177

he sent over his fourth son, John, into Ireland with a view of making a more complete conquest of the island; but the petulance and incapacity of this prince exasperated the Irish chieftains, and obliged the king soon after to recall him. The latter years of Henry's reign were embittered by the renewed rebellion of his sons, and their mutual quarrels. In 1183 his son Henry was seized with a fatal illness in the midst of his criminal designs, and died expressing deep sorrow for his filial ingratitude. Richard and Geoffrey made war upon each other; and when this quarrel was accommodated, Geoffrey, the most vicious perhaps of all Henry's unhappy family, levied war against his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his son's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris (1186).

§ 13. In the year 1187 the city of Jerusalem fell into the hands of sultan Saladin, and a new Crusade was determined on. The French and English monarchs and the emperor Frederick Barbarossa assumed the cross. In the midst of these preparations Richard, supported by Philip Augustus of France (who had succeeded Louis VII. in 1180), again took up arms against his father for detaining certain lands belonging to Adelais, Philip's sister, who was betrothed to Richard (1189). After much fruitless negociation, Henry was obliged to defend his dominions by arms, and engage in a war with his son and with France, in which his reverses so subdued his spirit that he submitted to all the rigorous terms demanded of him. But this was the least of his mortifications. When he required a list of those barons to whom he was bound to grant a pardon for their connection with Richard, he was astonished to find at the head of them the name of his favourite son John. Overloaded with cares and sorrows, the unhappy father, in this last disappointment of his domestic tenderness, broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day in which he was born, and bestowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction which he never could be prevailed on to retract. This final blow quite broke his spirit, and aggravated the fever from which he was suffering. He expired at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur (July 6, 1189). His natural son, Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutifully towards him, attended his corpse to Fontevraud, where it lay in state in the abbey church. As Richard met the sad procession, he was struck with horror and remorse, and expressed a deep sense of his own undutiful behaviour. Thus died, in the 58th year of his age, and 34th of his reign, the most remarkable prince of his time.

Henry was of a middle stature, strong, and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable

and entertaining; his speech easy, persuasive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, severe in the execution of justice, and temperate without austerity. Cruel and false, his abilities were more conspicuous than his virtues. He preserved his health, and kept himself from corpulency, to which he was somewhat inclined, by an abstemious diet, and by frequent exercise, particularly hunting. Restless and energetic, he generally transacted business standing, and was careless how he ate or drank or dressed. In his person were united many of the characteristics of his race, both bad and good. He was a fair scholar, had a wonderful memory, and was more careful of the forms than of the spirit of religion. He had five sons by Eleanor, of whom only two, Richard and John, survived him. Of his natural children the most distinguished were William, who received the surname of Long-sword, and married the daughter of the earl of Salisbury, and Geoffrey, already mentioned, who became bishop of Lincoln and archbishop of York.

RICHARD I.

§ 14. RICHARD I., *b.* 1167; *r.* 1189–1199.—Richard succeeded his father without opposition. He dismissed his father's minister, Ranulf de Glanville, the justiciary, and released his mother Eleanor from the confinement in which she had long been detained by the late king.

The history of Richard's reign consists of little more than his personal adventures. Impelled by the love of military glory, the sole purpose of his government seems to have been the relief of the Holy Land, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. This zeal against the infidels was shared by his subjects, and broke out in London on the day of his coronation (September 3). The king had issued an edict prohibiting the Jews from appearing at the ceremony; but some of them, presuming on the large presents made him by their nation, ventured to approach the hall where the king was dining. Exposed by their appearance to the insults of the populace, they took to flight. A rumour was spread that the king had issued orders for their massacre. This command, so agreeable to popular prejudices, was executed in an instant on such as fell into the hands of the multitude, who, moved alike by rapacity and zeal, broke into their houses, plundered, and murdered the owners. The inhabitants of the other cities of England imitated the example. In York 500 Jews, who had retired into the castle for safety, unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, and then, setting fire to the castle, perished in the flames.

Regardless of every consideration except his expedition to the Holy Land, Richard endeavoured to raise money by all expedients, how pernicious soever they might be to the public, or dangerous to the royal authority. He set to sale the revenues and manors of the crown, and the offices of greatest trust and power; sold, for so small a sum as 10,000 marks, the vassalage of Scotland, together with the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick, acquired by his father during the course of his victorious reign. Leaving the administration in the hands of the bishops of Durham and Ely, whom he appointed justiciaries and guardians of the realm, Richard proceeded to the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, the place of rendezvous agreed on with the French king. Philip and Richard, on their arrival there, found their combined army amount to 100,000 men (July 1, 1190).

§ 15. Here the French prince and the English reiterated their promises of cordial friendship, and pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the Crusade. They then separated; Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard the road to Marseilles, with a view of meeting their fleets, which were severally appointed to rendezvous in these harbours, and met again at Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. Here Richard was joined by Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, with whom he had become enamoured in Guienne. In the spring of the following year (1191) the English fleet, on leaving the port of Messina, met with a furious tempest, and the squadron in which Berengaria and her suite were embarked was driven on the coast of Cyprus. In consequence of their inhospitable treatment by Isaac, the ruler of Cyprus, Richard landed there, dethroned Isaac, and established governors over the island. Richard then espoused Berengaria (May 12), and early in the next month sailed for Palestine.

§ 16. The arrival of Philip and Richard inspired new life into the Crusaders. The emulation between the rival kings and rival nations produced extraordinary acts of valour: Richard in particular drew upon himself the general attention. Acre, which had been attacked for above two years by the united force of all the Christians in Palestine, now surrendered; but Philip, instead of pursuing the hopes of further conquest, disgusted with the ascendancy assumed and acquired by Richard, declared his resolution of returning to France. Richard, with those who still remained under his command, determined to lay siege to Ascalon, and thus open the way to Jerusalem. The march along the seacoast of 100 miles from Acre to Ascalon was a perpetual battle of 11 days. Ascalon fell into his hands, and Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the object of his enterprise, when he had the

mortification to find, from the irresistible desire of his allies to return home, that all hopes of further conquest must be abandoned for the present, and the acquisitions of the Crusaders be secured by an accommodation with Saladin. He concluded a truce for three years with that monarch (1192); stipulating that Acre, Joppa, and other seaport towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and pilgrims to the Holy City be unmolested.

§ 17. No business of importance now remained to detain Richard in Palestine; and the intelligence which he had received, concerning the intrigues of his brother John, and those of the king of France, made him sensible that his presence was necessary in Europe. As he dared not pass through France, he sailed to the Adriatic; and being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he assumed the disguise of a merchant returning from pilgrimage, with the purpose of taking his journey secretly through Germany. At Vienna he was betrayed by his prodigality; was arrested by orders of Leopold, duke of Austria, who had been offended by some insult whilst serving with Richard in Palestine (December 20, 1192). By the duke he was delivered to Henry VI., the German emperor, in return for a large sum which he paid to Leopold, and was detained by him in a castle in the Tyrol. The English learnt the captivity of their king from a letter which the emperor sent to Philip, king of France.* The news excited the greatest indignation; it seemed incredible that the champion of the Cross should be treated with such indignity. Philip hastened to profit by the circumstance; he formed a treaty with John, the object of which was the perpetual ruin of Richard. Philip, in consequence, invaded Normandy, but was driven back with loss; and John was equally unsuccessful in his enterprises in England. The justiciaries, supported by the general affection of the people, provided so well for the defence of the kingdom, that John was obliged, after some fruitless efforts, to conclude a truce.

§ 18. Meanwhile the high spirit of Richard suffered in Germany every kind of insult and indignity. He was brought before the diet of the empire at Hagenau, and accused by Henry of many crimes and misdemeanours (March 22, 1193); but Richard defended himself with so much ability, that he produced a profound impression on the German princes, who exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor. The pope threatened him with excommunication; and Henry at last agreed, in a conference at Worms, to restore Richard to his freedom for the sum of 100,000

* The well-known story of the discovery | page singing a song under his window
of Richard's place of confinement by his | rests on no historical authority.

marks paid down, and 50,000 more on security.* Half of the sum was to be paid before he received his liberty, and hostages delivered for the remainder (December, 1193). Making all imaginable haste to escape, Richard embarked at the mouth of the Scheldt, and reached Sandwich, March 20, 1194. As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance, he wrote to his confederate John: *Take heed of yourself, for the devil is broken loose.* The joy of the English was extreme at the appearance of their monarch, who had suffered so many calamities, had acquired so much glory, and had spread the reputation of their name to the furthest East. The barons, in a great council, confiscated all John's possessions in England; and assisted the king in reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents.

§ 19. Having settled everything in England, Richard passed over with an army into Normandy, impatient to make war on Philip, and revenge himself for the many injuries received from that monarch. The incidents which attended these hostilities were mean and frivolous. The war, frequently interrupted by truces, was continued till within a short period of Richard's death. The king was wounded in the shoulder with an arrow by Bertrand de Gourdon, whilst besieging the castle of Chaluz, belonging to his vassal Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, who had refused to surrender the whole of a treasure which he had discovered. The castle was taken, and all the garrison hanged, except the unfortunate archer, whom the king had reserved for a more deliberate and cruel execution. The wound was not in itself dangerous, but the unskilfulness of the surgeon made it mortal. A gangrene ensued, and Richard, now sensible that his life was drawing towards a close, sent for Gourdon, and asked him, "Wretch, what have I done to you to oblige you to seek my life?" "What have you done to me?" replied the prisoner: "you killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers, and you intended to have hanged myself. I am now in your power, and you may take revenge by inflicting on me the most cruel torments; but I shall endure them with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a plague." Richard, struck with the reply, and humbled by the near approach of death, ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty and a sum of money to be given him; but, unknown to the monarch, the unhappy man was flayed alive, and then hanged.† Richard died on the 6th of April, 1199, in the 10th year of his reign, and the 42nd of his age. He was buried at his father's feet at Fontevraud.

* In all £100,000.

† A contemporary French MS. says that Richard was wounded by a knight, Peter

de Baste, and makes no mention of the archer Gourdon his spirited reply, and his cruel fate.

The most shining parts of this prince's character are his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried personal courage and intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality gained him the appellation of the lion-hearted, *Cœur de Lion*. He loved military glory passionately; and as his conduct in the field was not inferior to his valour, he seems to have possessed every talent necessary for acquiring it. Of an impetuous and vehement spirit, he was distinguished by the good as well as the bad qualities incident to such characters. Open, frank, generous, sincere, and brave, he was revengeful, ambitious, haughty, and cruel; and was better calculated to dazzle men by the splendour of his enterprises, than to promote their happiness or his own grandeur by a sound and well-regulated policy. As Richard was a lover of poetry, and there even remain some poetical works of his composition, he is ranked among the Provençal poets, or *Troubadours*.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE ANGLO-NORMAN CONSTITUTION.

1. The Feudal system.—Among the barbarian tribes which overran Europe after the fall of the Roman empire, every individual claimed an equal share of liberty: and thus, when Charles the Simple inquired of the Northmen what title their leader bore, they replied, "None; we are all equally free." But when they were settled in the possessions won with their swords, they found new cares devolve upon them, and the necessity of a new system of polity. Having abandoned their life of wandering and rapine, it became necessary not only to cultivate the land for a subsistence, but to be prepared to defend it both against the attempts of the ancient possessors to regain, and of fresh swarms of wanderers to seize, it. Retaining their military character, and ignorant alike of all systems of finance and the expedient of a standing army, each man held himself in readiness to obey the call to service in the field. The superior officers, who held large territories directly from the prince, were bound to appear with a proportionate number of followers; and their followers held their lands from their immediate lord on the same condition. Thus, as

Dr. Robertson observes, "a feudal kingdom was properly the encampment of a great army; military ideas predominated, military subordination was established, and the possession of land was the pay which the soldiers received for their personal service." The possessions held by these tenures were called *fiefs*, or *beneficia*. The vassal who held them was not only bound to mount his horse and follow his lord, or his suzerain, to the wars, but also to assist him with his counsel, and attend as an assessor in his courts of justice. More special and definite services were—to guard the castle of his lord a certain number of days in the year; to pay a certain sum of money when his lord's eldest son was made a knight, and his eldest daughter was married; and to contribute to his ransom in case he was taken prisoner in war. In return for these services the lord was bound to afford his vassal protection in the event of his fief being attacked; whilst the defence of each other's person was reciprocal. The natural consequence of this was the system called "sub-infeudation," by which the immediate holder parcelled out portions of his fief to others on the same conditions of tenure by which he held it himself. These sub-tenants owed to him the same duties

as he owed to his lord; and he held his own court of justice, in which he exercised jurisdiction over his vassals. The few lands that remained free, that is, which were not bound to render service to a superior lord, though liable to burthens for the public defence, were called *allodial* in contradistinction to *feudal*.

The ceremony by which the vassal acknowledged his feudal dependence and obligations was called homage, from *homo*, a man, because the vassal became the man of his lord. Homage was accompanied with an oath of fealty on the part of the vassal, and investiture on the part of the lord, which was the conveying of possession of the fief by means of some pledge or token. Homage was of two kinds, liege and simple. Liege homage (from Lat. *ligare*, Fr. *lier*, to bind) not only obliged the liege man to do personal service in the army, but also disabled him from renouncing his vassalage by surrendering his fief. The liege man took the oath of fealty on his knees without sword and spurs, and with his hands placed between those of his lord. The vassal who rendered simple homage had the power of finding a substitute for military service, or could altogether liberate himself by the surrender of his fief. In simple homage the vassal took the oath standing, girt with his sword and with his hands at liberty.

The aristocratic nature of feudalism will readily be inferred from the preceding description. The great chief, residing in his country-seat, which he was commonly allowed to fortify, lost in a great measure his connection or acquaintance with the sovereign, and added every day new force to his authority over the vassals of his barony. From him they received education in all military enterprises; his hospitality invited them to live and enjoy society in his hall; their leisure, which was great, made them perpetual retainers on his person, and partakers of his country sports and amusements; they had no means of gratifying their ambition but by making a figure in his train; his favour and countenance was their greatest honour; his displeasure exposed them to contempt and ignominy; and they felt every moment the necessity of his protection, both in the controversies which occurred with other vassals, and, what was more material, in the daily

inroads and injuries which were committed by the neighbouring barons. From these causes not only was the royal authority extremely eclipsed in most of the European states, but even the military vassals, as well as the lower dependants and serfs, were held in a state of subjection, from which nothing could free them but the progress of commerce and the rise of cities, the true strongholds of freedom.

2. Feudalism in England.—Feudalism was one of the principal changes introduced into England by the Conquest. The king became the supreme lord of all the land; whence Coke says, "All the lands and tenements in England in the hands of subjects are holden mediately or immediately of the king, for in the law of England we have not properly *allodium*" (*Coke upon Littleton*, i. 1). Even the native landholders who were not deprived of their lands were brought under the system of feudal tenure, and were subjected to new services and imposts. Most of the manors were bestowed upon the Normans, who thus held immediately of the king, and were hence called *Tenants in Capite* or *Tenants in chief*. But though the Anglo-Saxon thane was thus reduced to the condition of a simple freeholder, or franklin, and though the Norman lord perhaps retained a certain portion of his estate as demesne land, yet the latter had no possessory right in the whole, and the estate was not therefore so profitable to him as might at first sight appear. The tenant in chief was bound to *knight service*, or the obligation to maintain, 40 days in the field, a certain number of mounted men, from his under-tenants, completely equipped. Even religious foundations and monasteries were liable to this service, the only exception being the tenure of *frankalmogin*, or free alms. Every estate of 20 pounds yearly value was considered as a knight's fee, and was bound to furnish a soldier. The tenants in chief appear from Domesday Book to have amounted in the reign of William the Conqueror to about 1400, including ecclesiastical corporations, amounting to one-half of the number. The *mesme* lords, or those holding fiefs not directly from the king, are estimated at about 8000.

There were peculiarities in the feudal system of Normandy itself which were introduced by William into England.

According to the generally received principle of feuds, the oath of the vassal was due only to the lord of whom he immediately held. But William, as already related, exacted the oath of fealty from all the landowners of England, whether tenants *in capite* or under-tenants. In doing this he seems to have been guided by the custom of Normandy, where the duke had immediate jurisdiction over all his subjects.* Hence William's power was much greater than that of the feudal sovereigns of the continent, and his rule approached more to an absolute despotism. The great fiefs of England did not, like those of France, date their origin from a period when the power of the vassal who received them was almost equal to that of the sovereign who bestowed them; but being distributed on the same occasion, and almost at the same time, William took care not to make them so large as to be dangerous to himself; for which reason also the manors assigned to his followers were dispersed in different counties. Hence the nobles in England never attained that pitch of power which they possessed in Germany, France, and Spain; nor do we find them defying the sovereign's jurisdiction, as was very common in those countries, by exercising the right of carrying on private wars among themselves.

3. *The Great Council or Parliament.*—The supreme legislative power of England was confined to the king and the Great Council of the realm, called *Commune Concilium Regni*, and also *Curia Regis*. It was attended by the archbishops, bishops, and principal abbots, and also by the *Greater Barons*. "The great tenants of the crown were of two descriptions—those who held by Knight Service *in Capite*, and those who held also *in Capite* by Grand Serjeantry, so called, says Littleton, from being a greater and more worthy service than Knight Service—attending the king not only in war but in his court. . . . To both descriptions of tenants the word BARON, in its more extended sense of lord of a manor, was applicable; but the latter only, or those who held of the king by Grand Serjeantry, held their lands *per Baroniam*, and were the King's Barons, and as such possessed both

a civil and criminal jurisdiction, each in his *Curia Baronis*, or Court Baron, whilst the Lesser Barons had only a civil jurisdiction over their vassals. To both ranks alike pertained the service of attending the sovereign in war with a certain number of knights according to the number of Knights, Fees holden of the crown, and to those who held *per Baroniam* was annexed the duty also of attending him in his Great Councils, afterwards designated Parliaments; for it was the principle of the feudal system that every tenant should attend the court of his immediate superior, and hence it was that he who held *per Baroniam*, having no superior but the crown, was bound to attend his sovereign in his Great Council or Parliament, which was in fact the Great Court Baron of the Realm" (Nicolas, *Historic Peerage of England*, ed. by Courthope, p. xviii.). It has been thought, but there is no distinct authority for the statement, that the lesser barons were sometimes summoned, particularly when taxes were to be imposed; for as the crown had only the right to exact from its immediate tenants the customary feudal aids, it became necessary, when the crown needed any extraordinary aid, to summon all the chief tenants in order to obtain their consent to the imposition. It was once disputed with great acrimony whether the Commons or representatives of counties and boroughs formed a part of the Great Council; but it is now universally acknowledged that they were not admitted into it till the reign of Henry III., and that the tenants alone of the crown composed the supreme and legislative assembly under the Anglo-Norman kings.

Mr. Hallam has summed up the constitution of this national assembly down to the reign of John as follows:—"1. All tenants in chief had a constitutional right to attend, and ought to be summoned; but whether they could attend without a summons is not manifest. 2. The summons was usually directed to the higher barons, and to such of a second class as the king pleased, many being omitted for different reasons, though all had a right to it. 3. On occasions when money was not to be demanded, but alterations made in the law, some of these second barons, or tenants in chief, were at least occasionally summoned, but whether by strict right or usage does not fully appear. 4. The

* See Houard, *Anec. Lois des François*, i. p. 196, sp. Thorpe, Lappenberg's *Anglo-Norman Kings*, p. 95. Comp. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 168.

irregularity of passing over many of them when councils were held for the purpose of levying money, led to the provision in the Great Charter of John by which the king promises that they shall be summoned through the sheriff on such occasions; but the promise does not extend to any other subject of parliamentary deliberation" (*Middle Ages*, iii. p. 213).

Under the Conqueror and his sons it was customary to assemble such councils at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and on other occasions when needed. It does not, however, appear probable that such a council could have assembled so frequently in any large numbers. What limitation it imposed on the royal prerogative in the matter of legislation cannot be determined. Practically, the authority of the Norman kings was absolute.

4. Legislation.—There was indeed little or no legislation under the early Norman kings; for the charters and other acts which they passed were rather confirmations of ancient privileges than new enactments. Even in Normandy itself there seems to be no trace of Norse jurisprudence, nor of *éts* nor courts, previous to the conquest of England; the law seems to have lain in the breast of the sovereigns (Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, ii. 258). There is at all events no monument of jurisprudence previous to that epoch; and, though a similarity may be subsequently traced between the English and Norman laws, yet England indisputably gave more than she borrowed. Learned men have even maintained that the famous Norman code called the *Grand Coutumier*, or Great Customary, was of Anglo-Saxon origin; nay, the later Normans claimed *Magna Carta* as the foundation of their franchises.* In England the earliest legislation of the Norman sovereigns must be referred to the time of Henry II., and most of the changes usually ascribed to the Conqueror were really not effected before that reign.†

5. Courts of Justice.—Besides the Great Council of the realm, the king had an ordinary or select council, for administrative and judicial purposes, which was also called *Curia* or *Aula Regis* (the

* Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, i. pp. 107, seq. and notes, p. 720. Comp. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. p. 314. The Grand Customary itself, however, ascribes the collection to Rolf: Lappenberg, *Anglo-Norman Kings*, by Thorpe, p. 92.

† Palgrave, *ibid.* p. 113; Hallam, *ibid.* p. 413.

King's Court). It attended the person of the sovereign, and was composed of the great officers of state; as the chief justiciary,* chancellor, constable, marshal, chamberlain, treasurer, steward, and others nominated by the king. These were his councillors in political matters, and also the supreme court of justice of the kingdom, in which the king sometimes sat in person. A particular branch of it, afterwards known as the *Court of Exchequer*, was established in very early times for the administration of all matters connected with the revenue. Its existence can at all events be traced to the reign of Henry I. By degrees, when suits began to multiply in the king's court, and pleadings became more technical and intricate, another branch was detached for the decision of private suits, which was called the *Court of Common Pleas*. It seems to have had its beginning in the reign of Richard I.; but it was completely established by *Magna Carta*, of which the 14th clause enacted, "Common Pleas shall not follow our court, but be held in some certain place." The *Court of King's Bench*, primarily intended to decide suits between the king and his subjects, was formed out of the ancient *Curia Regis*. The rolls of the King's Bench begin in the sixth year of Richard I.†

The County courts and Hundred-courts still continued as in Anglo-Saxon times. All the freeholders of the county, even the greatest barons, were obliged to attend the sheriffs in these courts, and assist in the administration of justice. Such courts, which were unknown upon the continent, served as a powerful check upon the courts of the barons. Appeals were allowed from the county and baronial courts to the court of the king; and, lest the expense and trouble of a journey to court should discourage suitors, itinerant judges (*in Eyre*) were established in the reign of Henry II. (A.D. 1176). They made their circuits through the kingdom, and tried all causes that were brought before them; for this purpose England was divided into six districts.

In judicial proceedings the ancient practice of compurgation by the oaths of

* The chief justiciary presided in the king's court, and was, by virtue of his office, the regent of the kingdom during the absence of the sovereign. He was thus the greatest subject in the kingdom.

† According to Professor Stubbs, it was not until the end of the reign of Henry III. that the ancient *Curia* was divided into these separate and independent bodies.

friends and of trial by ordeal (p. ??) still subsisted under the Norman kings; but the trial by ordeal was to some extent superseded by that of combat, which, if not introduced by the Normans, was very seldom practised before the Conquest. Trial by ordeal was abolished by the fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The privilege of compurgation, an evident source of perjury, was abolished by Henry II., though by some exemption it continued to be preserved long afterwards in London and in boroughs. A regulation of Henry II. introduced an important change in suits for the recovery of land, by allowing a tenant who was unwilling to risk a judicial combat to put himself on the assize; that is, to refer the case to four knights chosen by the sheriff, who in their turn selected twelve more. These twelve decided the case by their verdict; but this proceeding was limited to the king's court and that of the itinerant justices, and never took place in the county court or in that of the hundred. This practice will again claim our attention when we come to trace the history of trial by jury.

6. Revenue of the Crown.—The power of the Norman kings was supported by a great revenue that was fixed, perpetual, and independent of the subject. The first branch of the king's stated revenue was the royal demesnes or crown lands. When the king was not content with the stated rents, he levied, at his pleasure, heavy taxes, called *tallages*, on the inhabitants both of town and country who lived within his demesne. They were assessed by the itinerant justices on their circuits. The tenants *in capite* were bound, as we have already seen, to furnish in war a soldier for every knight's fee; and if they neglected to do so, they were obliged to pay the king a composition in money called *escuage* or *scutage*. Another tax, levied upon all the lands at the king's discretion, was *Danegeid*, which was continued after all apprehension of the Danes had passed away. Before the Conquest it was a tax of two shillings on every hide of land, and was raised by William I. to six shillings. The name disappears after 1163, but the carucage levied by Richard I. was virtually the same. The king also derived a considerable revenue from certain burthens to which his military tenants were liable. The most important of these feudal incidents, as they were called, were

Reliefs, Fines upon Alienation, Escheats, Forfeitures, Aids, Wardship, and Marriage.

1. A *Relief*, which was the same as the Saxon *heriot*, was a fine paid by the heir to his lord on succeeding to a fief. The fine was at first arbitrary, but by Magna Carta it was fixed at about a fourth of the annual value of the fief. The king was entitled to a sort of extra relief, called *Primer Seisin*, on the death of any of his tenants *in capite*, provided the heir had attained his majority. The primer seisin consisted of one year's profits of the land. 2. A *Fine upon Alienation* was a sum paid to the lord when the tenant transferred his fief to another. 3. An *Escheat* was when a fief reverted to the superior lord in consequence of the tenant having died without heirs. 4. A *Forfeiture* arose from the vassal failing to perform his duties towards either his lord or the state. "Under rapacious kings, such as the Norman line in England, a new doctrine was introduced, the corruption of blood, by which the heir was effectually excluded from deducing his title, at any distant time, through an attainted ancestor" (Hallam). 5. *Aids* were contributions which the lord was entitled to demand from his vassal under certain circumstances. They were raised according to local customs, and were felt to be a great grievance. Three only were retained by Magna Carta—to make the lord's eldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, and to ransom his person from captivity. 6. *Wardship* was the right of the lord to the care of his tenant's person during his minority, and to receive certain profits of his estate. 7. *Marriage*. The lord might tender a husband to his female ward in her minority, and if she rejected the proposal she forfeited the sum which the guardian could have obtained for such an alliance. This was afterwards extended to male wards. In both cases it became the source of great abuse and extortion.

7. The Church.—The policy of William the Conqueror was favourable to the pope, who had supported his claims to the English throne. One of his most important innovations was the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which had been united in the Anglo-Saxon times. He prohibited the bishops from sitting in the county courts, and allowed ecclesiastical causes to be tried in spiritual courts only.

8. Villenage.—A great part of the population under the Anglo-Norman kings was in a state of slavery, to which the name of *Villenage* was applied. In the Anglo-Saxon times a large part of the population consisted of *ceorls*, or free-men, forming a class between the thanes and the serfs. But under the Normans most of the *ceorls* were thrust down into slavery, and the Anglo-Saxon *ceorls* and serfs became the Norman *villeins*. It would seem, however, that the *ceorls* who had acquired land were allowed in many cases to retain their land and their freedom. These are the *Socmanni* or *Socmen* of Domesday Book, the same as the small freeholders or yeomanry of later times. The condition of the *villeins* appears to have increased in rigour under the successive Anglo-Norman kings down to the time of Henry II., at which period the *villein* was absolutely dependent upon the will of his lord, and was incapable of holding any property of his own. Yet he appears to have possessed some personal rights; for, though liable to be sold by his master, an action would lie against the latter for murder, rape, or mutilation. *Villeins* were divided into two classes, called *villeins regardant* and *villeins in gross*. The former were *adscripti glebae*, or attached to certain lands; and when these lands changed owners the *villeins* *regardant* became the property of the new possessors. The *villeins in gross*, on the contrary, might be sold in open market, and transferred from hand to hand without regard to any land or settlement. They were called *en gross* because this term, in our legal phraseology, indicates property held absolutely, and without reference to any other. But there appears to have been no essential difference in the condition of these *villeins*. The way in which the *villeins* emerged from this degraded position into the peasantry of England will be narrated at the end of the next book.

B. AUTHORITIES FOR NORMAN HISTORY

The principal sources of Norman history are:—Dudo of St. Quentin, whose work contains the lives of the first three dukes (in *Duchesnei*); William of Jumièges (*Gemeticensis*), who epitomized the preceding work, and continued it down to the battle of Hastings [*ibid.*]; William of Poitiers, *Gesta Willelmi ducis Normann-*

norum et regis Anglorum [*ibid.*]; Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Eccl.* [*ibid.*]; Wace, or Gasse, *Roman de Rou*; the *Hypodigma Neustria* [Parker, Camden].

The best modern works on the early history of Normandy are:—The *Epitome* prefixed to Lappenberg's *Hist. of England under the Norman Kings*, translated and supplemented by Benjamin Thorpe; Palgrave, *Hist. of Normandy and England*, 8vo; Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, 4 vols. 8vo

C. AUTHORITIES FOR ANGLO-NORMAN HISTORY.

Many of these authorities have been already enumerated in Note D, appended to Book I. Thus, of those mentioned there, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* continue to the year 1154; Florence of Worcester to 1108; Simeon of Durham, with the continuation, to 1156; Eadmer to 1122; Henry of Huntingdon to 1154; Brompton to 1199; Hoveden to 1201; William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum* to 1142; Hugo Candidus to 1155; Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*) to 1307; Roger of Wendover to 1235.

Of the authorities for Norman history mentioned in the preceding note, the work of Ordericus Vitalis is also serviceable for Anglo-Norman history. It comes down to the year 1141.

Robert de Thorigny, a monk of the abbey of Bec, continued the history of William of Jumièges down to the year 1137; and it forms the 8th book of that work as published in Camden's *Anglica, Normanica, &c.* William of Newburgh treats of the period from 1066 to 1197. The Chronicle of Radulphus de Diceto, a dean of St. Paul's, with a continuation, comes down to the year 1199, and is published in Twysden's and the Rolls' Collection. The Chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury reaches to about the same period as the preceding (*ibid.*). Benedict of Peterborough's Chronicle embraces the period from 1170 to 1192 (in Hearne and the Rolls' Series). Walter of Coventry continued Hoveden, besides writing other chronicles; but his works exist only in manuscript. Ralph of Coggeshall, who died about 1227, wrote a *Chronicon Anglicanum* from the Conquest to the year 1200. It will be found in Martène and Durand's Collection, and more complete in the Rolls' Series. The chronicles

of St. Alban's, formerly cited under the name of Matthew Paris, are in reality by three persons—Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, and William Rishanger. Roger of Wendover, who has been already mentioned, is a contemporary authority from 1201 to 1235. His work has been published by the English Historical Society. The principal work of Matthew Paris is the *Historia Major* (A.D. 1066 to 1259, with a continuation to 1273); but only the portion from 1235 to 1259 belongs to M. Paris, the remainder being adopted from Wendover with interpolations. William Rishanger is the continuator of Paris from 1259 to 1307, and his work therefore belongs to the period embraced in the next book—also in the Rolls' Series.

Other works that may be mentioned relating to the present period are—a chronicle from 1066 to 1289, by Thomas Wikes (Gale and in the Rolls' Series). Many chronicles of this period bear no author's name, and are called after the abbey or monastery in which they were composed or preserved. Among the principal of them may be named—the *Annales Burtonenses*, A.D. 1114-1263 (in Fulman's Collection); *Annales Waverleenses*, 1066-1291 (Gale); *Chronicon de Mailros* (Melrose), 731-1270. (Fulman and the Bannatyne Club. Also in the Rolls' Series.)

Among the works relating to par-

ticular periods may be named the Lives of Thomas Becket by John of Salisbury, Benedict of Peterborough, Edward Grim, Herbert of Bosham, and others, published by Dr. Giles, in the *Patres Ecclesiae Anglicane*.

Richard of Devizes wrote a chronicle of the first three years of Richard I., which is published by the English Historical Society. The *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (in Gale) contains an account of king Richard's Crusade. It was formerly wrongly ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, but was probably written by Richard, canon of the Holy Trinity, London.

Among modern works relating to this period may be mentioned that of Thierry, alluded to in the preceding note; Lappenberg's *Hist. of England under the Norman Kings*, translated by Thorpe (also mentioned in the preceding note), which comes down to the end of Stephen's reign; the continuation of this work by Pauli, *Geschichte von England*; and Lord Lyttelton's *Life of Henry II.* (6 vols. 8vo). More important still are the works of Mr. Freeman and Professor Stubbe, and especially, for the reigns and characters of Henry II. and Richard I., Professor Stubbe's Introductions to the Rolls' Editions of Benedict of Peterborough and the *Memorials of Richard I.*



Richard I. From his monument at Fontevraud.



John. From his tomb in Worcester Cathedral.



Isabella. From her tomb at Fontevraud.

BOOK III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JOHN TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III.
A.D. 1199-1485.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET—*Continued.*

JOHN AND HENRY III. A.D. 1199-1272.

§ 1. Introduction. § 2. Accession and marriage of JOHN. § 3. War with France. Murder of prince Arthur. John is expelled from France. § 4. The king's quarrel with the court of Rome. Interdict of the kingdom. § 5. Excommunication and submission of the king. He does homage to the pope. § 6. War with France. § 7. Discontent and insurrection of the barons. § 8. Magna Carta. § 9. Civil wars. Prince Louis called over. Death and character of the king. § 10. Accession of HENRY III. General pacification. § 11 Commotions. War with France. § 12. The king's administration. His partiality to foreigners. § 13. Usurpa-

tions and exactions of the court of Rome. § 14. Richard, earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans. Simon de Montfort. § 15. Parliament of Oxford, or the Mad Parliament. § 16. Opposition to the barons. Treaty with France. § 17. Civil wars. Battle of Lewes. § 18. Leicester's parliament. House of Commons. § 19. Battle of Evesham and death of Leicester. § 20. Prince Edward's Crusade. Death and character of the king.

§ 1. THE reign of John marks an important epoch in the history of the English nation. Under the early Norman kings there had been two different races dwelling upon the English soil, speaking different languages, and possessing no common interests; but during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. the Anglo-Saxons and Normans became fused into the English people.* Not only were the foundations laid, but much of the superstructure was reared, of those liberties which are still the glory and the safety of the English nation.

§ 2. JOHN, *b.* 1167; *r.* 1199–1216.—John was the fifth and youngest son of Henry II., and as he received from his father no great fiefs, like his brothers, he obtained the surname of *Sans terre* or *Lackland*, by which he was commonly known. Although Geoffrey, the fourth son of Henry II., had left two children, Arthur and Eleanor, and John had attempted to deprive Richard of his crown, yet Richard was induced, by the influence of their mother, to name John as his successor. He was acknowledged by the Norman barons; but Arthur, who had become duke of Brittany in right of his mother, was not left without supporters. The nobles of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine immediately declared in his favour, and applied for assistance to the French monarch as their superior lord. Philip, who desired only an occasion to embarrass John, and dismember his dominions, embraced Arthur's cause, and sent him to Paris to be educated along with his own son Louis. John, after being crowned at Westminster on the 27th of May,† crossed over to France in order to conduct the war against Philip, and to recover the revolted provinces from his nephew, Arthur. Constance, the prince's mother, seized with a jealousy that Philip intended to usurp his dominions, found means to carry off her son secretly from Paris. She put him into the hands of his uncle, and restored the provinces which had adhered to her son. From this incident Philip saw that he could not hope to make any progress against John; and the two monarchs entered into a treaty (1200) by which they adjusted the limits of their several territories. John, now secure,

* See Notes and Illustrations (A) on the amalgamation of the Saxon and Norman races.

† This as Ascension Day, and John's

regnal years were dated, not from May 27th of each year, but from that moveable feast, thus, they vary from May 2 to June 2.

as he imagined, on the side of France, indulged his passion for Isabella, the daughter and heir of Aymar Taillefer, count of Angoulême, a lady of whom he had become much enamoured, though his queen, the heiress of the family of Gloucester, was still living. Isabella had been affianced to the count de la Marche, and was already consigned to the care of that nobleman's brother, though, by reason of her tender years, the marriage had not yet been consummated. The passion of John made him overlook all these obstacles: he persuaded the count of Angoulême to carry off his daughter from her guardian; and having, on some pretence or other, procured a divorce from his own wife, he espoused Isabella regardless of the resentment of the injured count.

§ 3. But John's government, equally feeble and violent, gave great offence to his Poitevin barons, who appealed to the king of France, and demanded redress from him as their superior lord. Philip perceived his advantage, interposed in behalf of the barons, and began to talk in a high and menacing style to the king of England. The young duke of Brittany, who was now rising to man's estate, sensible of the dangerous character of his uncle, determined to seek both his security and elevation by a union with Philip and the malcontent barons (1202). He joined the French army, which had begun hostilities against the king of England: he was received with great marks of distinction and knighted by Philip, espoused his daughter Mary, and was invested not only in the duchy of Brittany, but in the counties of Anjou and Maine, which he had formerly resigned to his uncle. Success attended the allies till an event happened which seemed to turn the scale in favour of John, and to give him a decided superiority over his enemies. He fell on Arthur's camp, who was besieging Mirabeau, before that prince was aware of the danger, dispersed his army, took him prisoner, together with the most considerable of his revolted barons, and returned in triumph to Normandy. The greater part of the prisoners were sent over to England, but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise. His fate is involved in obscurity; but there is little reason to doubt that he was put to death by John's command, though probably not by the king's own hand.

The states of Brittany now carried their complaints before Philip as their liege lord, and demanded justice for the violence committed by John on the person of Arthur (1203). Philip received their application with pleasure, summoned John to trial, and, on his non-appearance, with the concurrence of the peers, passed sentence upon him, declared him guilty of felony, and adjudged him to forfeit to his superior lord all his seignories and fiefs in France.

Philip now embraced the project of expelling the English, or rather the English king, from France, and of annexing to the crown the many considerable fiefs, which during several ages had been dismembered from it. Whilst he was making considerable progress in this design, John remained in total inactivity at Rouen, passing the time, with his young wife, in amusements, as if his state had been in the most profound tranquillity, and his affairs in the most prosperous condition. Philip pursued his victorious career without opposition. Town after town fell into his hands. At length, by the surrender of Rouen, the whole of Normandy was reunited to the crown of France, about three centuries after the cession of it by Charles the Simple to Rollo, the first duke (1204). Philip carried his victorious army into the western provinces; he soon reduced Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; and thus the French crown, during the reign of one able and active prince, received such an accession of power and grandeur, as in the ordinary course of events it would have required ages to attain.

§ 4. The papal chair was filled at this time by Innocent III., who, being endowed with a lofty and enterprising genius, gave full scope to his ambition, and attempted, perhaps more openly than any of his predecessors, to convert that superiority which was yielded him by all the European princes into a real dominion over them. A favourable incident enabled him to extend his usurpations over so contemptible a prince as John. Hubert Walter, the primate, died in 1205; and, as the chapter of Christchurch, Canterbury, claimed the right of electing their prelate, some of the juniors of the order met clandestinely on the night of Hubert's death, and chose Reginald, their sub-prior, for his successor. Having enjoined him the strictest secrecy, they sent him immediately to Rome, in order to obtain confirmation of his election. The vanity of Reginald prevailed over his prudence. He had no sooner arrived in Flanders than he revealed the purpose of his journey, which was immediately made known in England. The king was enraged at the novelty and temerity of the attempt, in filling so important an office without his knowledge or consent. The suffragans of Canterbury, accustomed to concur in the choice of their primate, were no less displeased at their own exclusion; whilst the senior monks of Christchurch repudiated the irregular proceedings of their juniors. The chapter, at the command of the king, now chose John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, for their primate, and the suffragans subsequently acquiesced in the choice. The king and the convent of Christchurch despatched twelve monks of that order to support, before the tribunal of Innocent, the election of the bishop. But Innocent, refusing to recognize their elec-

tion, compelled the twelve monks, under the penalty of excommunication, to choose for their primate STEPHEN LANGTON, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected by interest and attachments with the see of Rome (1207).

§ 5. Inflamed with rage when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome, John immediately vented his passion on the monks of Christchurch for consenting to Langton's appointment, expelling them from the convent and taking possession of their revenues. Innocent, in return, placed the kingdom under an interdict (March 23, 1208). By this terrible sentence public worship and the administration of the sacraments, except private baptism, were suspended. Marriages were only celebrated outside the churches, and the dead were buried in ditches and waste places without funeral rites. John retaliated by seizing the property of such of the clergy as obeyed the interdict. It was followed up the next year (1209) by a threat of excommunication; and, as the king still refused to yield, the pope in 1212 carried out the threat, absolved the king's subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and called upon Philip to carry the sentence of deposition into effect. The French monarch collected a large force for the purpose of invading England; and John, finding that he could not rely upon his own subjects, agreed to submit to the requirements of the pope. He not only acknowledged Langton as primate, but he issued a charter, by which he resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair, and agreed to hold these dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of 1000 marks. In token of this submission he did homage to Pandulf, the papal nuncio, with all the ceremonies required by the feudal law of vassals to their liege lord and superior (May 15, 1213).

§ 6. Returning to France, Pandulf congratulated Philip on the success of his pious enterprise; and informed him that, as John had now made his kingdom a part of St. Peter's patrimony, no Christian prince could attack him without manifest and flagrant impiety. Enraged at this intelligence, Philip resolved to continue his enterprise, although an English fleet assembled under William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, the king's natural brother, had attacked the French in their harbours, destroyed and captured a great number of their ships in the Flemish harbour of Damme, and Philip, to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them himself.

§ 7. When the interdict was removed, John went over to Poitou (1214), to fulfil his part in a great alliance which he had formed against France, and carried war into Philip's dominions. At

the same time his nephew, the emperor Otho IV., aided by English mercenaries, invaded France from the side of Flanders. The great and decisive victory gained by the king of France at Bouvines, in July, established for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full security to all his dominions. The earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner; and John, baffled in his great scheme, and deserted by the nobles of Poitou, concluded a five years' truce at Chinon (September 18).

Equally odious and contemptible in public and private life, he had affronted the barons by his insolence, dishonoured their families by his gallantries, enraged them by his tyranny, provoked the rising power of the towns, and given discontent to all ranks of men by his repeated exactions and impositions. This discontent was further aggravated by the king's demands of an unusual scutage from the disaffected barons; and, after he had reconciled himself to the pope and betrayed the independence of the kingdom, all his subjects thought they might with safety and honour insist upon a redress of grievances. Nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton, archbishop of Canterbury—a man whose memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by the encroachments of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English. The patriotic efforts of this prelate were warmly seconded by William Marshal, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke; and to these two distinguished men the English nation are under the deepest obligations for the foundation of their liberties. In a meeting at St. Paul's, Langton showed to some of the principal barons a copy of Henry I.'s charter, which he said he had happily found in a monastery; and he exhorted them to insist on its renewal and observance. Upon the defeat of John's continental alliance, the barons held a more solemn meeting at St. Edmundsbury, and swore before the high altar to obtain from the king a charter confirming the ancient liberties of England (November, 1214). Appearing in arms at his Christmas court in London, they presented their claims. He promised an answer at Easter, but in order to break up the confederacy of the barons, and detach their clerical associates, he offered (January 15, 1215) to relinquish for ever that important prerogative for which his father and his ancestors had zealously contended, by yielding to the church freedom of election on all vacancies, reserving only to himself the *congé d'éire* and confirmation of the election; declaring, further, that, if either of these were withheld, the choice should nevertheless be deemed just and valid. Both parties had sent deputies to Rome, requesting the interference of Innocent. But the pope, preferring the cause of

John, condemned Langton and the barons for the course they had taken, and ordered them to reconcile themselves with the king. The barons, who had advanced too far to recede, assembled at Stamford (May 19); and, as John still continued to temporize, choosing Robert Fitz-Walter for their general, whom they called the *Marshal of the army of God and of Holy Church*, they marched to London (Sunday, May 24th). They were received without opposition; and finding the great superiority of their force, they issued proclamations requiring other barons to join them. After wandering to and fro between Winchester and Windsor, the king was left with only a few adherents, and was at last obliged to submit at discretion.

§ 8. A conference between the king and the barons was appointed at Runnymede, near Staines, a place which has ever since been celebrated on account of this great event. The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies, the barons on the field of Runnymede, the king on the Buckinghamshire side of the river, and the conferences were held on a little island, still called "Magna Carta Island." After a debate, which lasted only a single day, the king, with a facility somewhat suspicious, granted the charter required of him (June 15, 1215). This famous deed, commonly called MAGNA CARTA, or THE GREAT CHARTER, either granted or secured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom—to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people. The privileges offered to the clergy in the preceding January are confirmed by the Great Charter, and have been already enumerated. The barons were relieved from the chief grievances to which they had been subjected by the crown. The "reliefs" of heirs of the tenants in chief, on succeeding to an inheritance, were limited to a certain sum, according to the rank of the tenant; guardians were restrained from wasting the lands of their wards; heirs were to be married without disparagement, and widows secured from wedding on compulsion. The next clause was still more important. It enacted that no "scutage" or "aid" should be imposed without the consent of the Great Council of the kingdom, except in the three feudal cases of the king's ransom, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter; and it provided that in all cases of aid the prelates, earls, and greater barons should be summoned to this great council, each by a particular writ, and all other tenants in chief by a general summons of the sheriff. The privileges and immunities thus granted to the tenants in chief were extended to the inferior vassals. The franchises of the city of London, and of all other cities and boroughs, were declared inviolable; and no aids were to be required of London, except by the consent of the great council. One weight and one

measure were extended throughout the kingdom. The freedom of commerce was granted to alien merchants. The court of Common Pleas was to be stationary, instead of following the king's person. But "the essential clauses" of Magna Carta, as Mr. Hallam remarks, are those "which protect the personal liberty and property of all freemen, by giving security from arbitrary imprisonment and arbitrary spoliation. NO FREEMAN SHALL BE TAKEN OR IMPRISONED, OR BE DISPOSSESSED [OF HIS FREEHOLD, OR LIBERTIES, OR FREE CUSTOMS], OR BE OUTLAWED, OR EXILED, OR ANY OTHERWISE DESTROYED; NOR WILL WE PASS UPON HIM, NOR LET PASS UPON HIM, BUT BY LAWFUL JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS, OR BY THE LAW OF THE LAND. WE WILL SELL TO NO MAN, WE WILL NOT DENY OR DELAY TO ANY MAN JUSTICE OR RIGHT."* "It is obvious," Mr. Hallam adds, "that these words, interpreted by any honest court of law, convey an ample security for the two main rights of civil society. From the era, therefore, of king John's charter, it must have been a clear principle of our constitution that no man can be detained in prison without trial. Whether courts of justice framed the writ of Habeas Corpus in conformity to the spirit of this clause, or found it already in their register, it became from that era the right of every subject to demand it."†

Other clauses of the charter protected freemen and even villeins from excessive fines. The latter were not to be deprived of their carts, ploughs, and implements of industry.‡

The barons obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands, and the Tower be consigned to the custody of the primate, till the 15th of August ensuing, or till the execution of the several articles of the Great Charter. The better to insure the same end, John allowed them to choose five and twenty members from their own body, as conservators of the public liberties. The authority of these men was unbounded in extent and duration. Any four of them might claim redress for the infraction of the charter, and in event of refusal proceed to levy war on the king himself. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under the penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to them; and the freeholders of each county were to choose twelve knights, who were to make report of such evil customs as required redress, conformably to the tenor of the Great Charter.

* These, however, are not the words of Magna Carta, but of the charter as re-issued with some alterations by Henry III., and called the Charter of Liberties. The words in brackets are not in the original.

† Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 324.

‡ John's charter is in Rymer's *Fœdera*,

in Stubbs's *Select Charters*, &c., and other places. Respecting the subsequent confirmations of the charter, see Notes and Illustrations (B). The "Charter of the Forests," which was a supplement to the Great Charter, was not executed till the confirmation of the latter in 1217.

To all these regulations, however injurious to majesty, John seemed to submit passively ; but he only dissembled till he should find a favourable opportunity for annulling all his concessions, and he was determined to throw off, at all hazards, so ignominious a slavery. He secretly sent abroad emissaries to enlist foreign soldiers, and he despatched a messenger to Rome, in order to lay before the pope the Great Charter, which he had been compelled to grant, and to complain, before that tribunal, of the violence which had been imposed upon him. Innocent, considering himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, was incensed at the temerity of the barons, and issued a bull, in which he annulled the charter, as obtained illegally, as a violation of the privileges pertaining to a champion of the Cross—for John had assumed the Cross some weeks before—and as derogatory to those rights which the pope now claimed as John's feudal superior (August 25).

§ 9. As his foreign forces arrived along with this bull, the king now threw off the mask ; and, under sanction of the pope's sentence, he recalled all the liberties he had granted to his subjects, and had solemnly sworn to observe. The barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, seem to have been lulled into a fatal security. From the first, the king was master of the field, and immediately laid siege to the castle of Rochester, which was obstinately defended by William D'Aubigné, at the head of 140 knights with their retainers, but was at last reduced by famine. The capture of D'Aubigné, the best officer among the confederated barons, was an irreparable loss to their cause, and no regular opposition was thenceforth offered to the progress of the royal arms. The mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses and parks of the barons, spreading devastation over the surface of the kingdom. Marching through the whole extent of England, from Dover to Berwick, John laid waste the provinces on each side of him, permitting his mercenary troops to carry fire and sword in all directions, sparing neither sex nor age, neither things sacred nor profane.

Reduced to this desperate extremity, and menaced with the loss of their liberties, their properties, and their lives, the barons employed a remedy no less desperate ; and making application to the court of France, they offered to acknowledge Louis, the eldest son of Philip, for their sovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of John. Philip was strongly tempted to lay hold on the rich prize thus offered him ; and, having exacted from the barons hostages of the most noble birth in the kingdom, he sent over an army with Louis himself at its head, who landed at Stonor (May 21, 1216). The king was assembling

a considerable army, with a view of striking one great blow for his crown ; but passing from Lynn to Lincolnshire his road lay along the sea-shore, which was overflowed at high water, and, not choosing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his carriages, treasure, baggage, and regalia. The anguish occasioned by this disaster, and vexation from the distracted state of his affairs, increased the sickness under which he then laboured ; and, though he reached the castle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there, and his distemper soon after put an end to his life, October 19, 1216, in the 50th year of his age, and 18th of his reign. His tomb stands in the midst of the choir at Worcester.

Though John was not without ability, his character is little else than a complication of vices, ruinous to himself and destructive to his people. Folly, levity, licentiousness, ingratitude, treachery, tyranny, and cruelty—all these qualities appear in the several incidents of his life. His continental dominions, when they devolved to him by the death of his brother, were more extensive than have ever, since his time, been ruled by an English monarch ; but he lost, by his misconduct, the flourishing provinces in France, the ancient patrimony of his family : he subjected his kingdom to a shameful vassalage under the see of Rome : he saw the prerogatives of his crown diminished by law, and still more reduced by faction : and he died at last when in danger of being totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life miserably in prison, or seeking shelter, as a fugitive, from the pursuit of his enemies.

It was in this king's reign that a charter was granted to the city of London (1215), giving it the right of electing, annually, a mayor out of its own body, an office which was till now held for life.* The city also had power to elect and remove its sheriffs at pleasure, and its common councilmen annually. Old London Bridge was finished in this reign ; the former bridge was of wood. Queen Maud, it is said, was the first that built a stone bridge in England.

HENRY III.

§ 10. HENRY III., *b. 1207, r. 1216–1272.*—The earl of Pembroke, who, at the time of John's death, was marshal of England, was, by his office, at the head of the army, and consequently, during a state of civil war and convulsion, at the head of the government. It happened fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation that the power could not have been intrusted to more able or more faithful hands. The earl carried young Henry, now nine years of age, immediately to Gloucester, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed (October 28, 1216), as Westminster was

* *Stubbe's Select Charters*, with nine other charters to cities and towns.

at that time in the hands of the hostile barons. Papal support was important to Henry in the weakness of his condition; and Gualo, the papal legate, was joined in the administration. Henry swore fealty to the pope, and renewed the homage of his father. To enlarge the authority of Pembroke, a general council of the barons was summoned at Bristol (November 12), where that nobleman was chosen protector of the realm, and the Grand Charter, with some alterations, and with the more popular clauses omitted, was renewed and confirmed. This act was received with satisfaction. Many of the malcontent barons, most of whom had begun secretly to negotiate with him already, now openly returned to their allegiance. Louis soon found that the death of John, contrary to his expectations, had given an incurable wound to his cause. A short truce followed, his English adherents fell away, and when the war was renewed the French army was totally defeated at Lincoln, and driven from that city (May 20, 1217). A French fleet bringing over reinforcements, was attacked by the English



Henry III. From his tomb in Westminster Abbey.

at Sandwich, and routed with considerable loss (August 24). Unable to make head against these reverses, abandoned by his English allies, and threatened with excommunication from the pope, Louis concluded a peace with Pembroke, and promised to evacuate the kingdom (September, 1217). Thus happily ended a civil war which had threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences.

§ 11. The earl of Pembroke did not long survive the pacification,

which had been chiefly owing to his wisdom and valour, and he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary (1219). The counsels of the latter were chiefly followed; and had he possessed equal authority in the kingdom with Pembroke, he seemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that nobleman. But the powerful barons, who had once broken the reins of subjection to their prince, and obtained an enlargement of their liberties and independence, could ill be restrained by laws under a minority. They detained by force the royal castles, which they had seized during the past convulsions, or which had been committed to their custody by the protector; and they usurped the king's demesnes.

But notwithstanding these intestine commotions, and the precarious authority of his crown, Henry was obliged to carry on war with France. Louis VIII., who had succeeded to his father Philip, instead of complying with Henry's claim for the restitution of Normandy and the other provinces wrested from England, made an irruption into Poitou (1224), took Rochelle after a long siege, and seemed determined to expel the English from the few provinces which still remained to them. Henry sent over his uncle, the earl of Salisbury, who stopped the progress of Louis's arms; but no military action of any moment was performed on either side.

§ 12. As the king grew to man's estate, his character became every day better known; and he was found in every respect ill qualified for maintaining an efficient control over his turbulent barons. Gentle, humane, and merciful even to a fault, he seems to have been steady in no one circumstance of his character; but to have received impressions from those who surrounded him, and whom he loved, for the time, with the most injudicious and unreserved affection. While Hubert de Burgh enjoyed his authority, he gained entire ascendancy over Henry, and was loaded with honours and favours beyond any other subject. Rewarded with many castles and manors, he married the eldest sister of the king of Scots, was created earl of Kent, and, by an unusual concession, was made chief justiciary of England for life; yet, in a sudden fit of caprice, Henry threw off this faithful minister (1232), and exposed him to the violence of his enemies.* He was succeeded in his post as justiciary by Stephen de Segrave; but so much had he suffered in Henry's estimation, that, after many indignities, he was thrown into prison, and the king transferred his favour and affection to Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. Des Roches was a Poitevin by birth, who had been raised by the late king,

* Archbishop Langton, who had opposed with unvarying firmness every attempt to neutralize the Great Charter, died in 1228.

and was no less distinguished by his arbitrary principles and violent conduct than by his courage and abilities. He had been left by John justiciary and regent of the kingdom during an expedition which that prince made into France; and his illegal administration was one chief cause of that great combination among the barons, which finally extorted from the crown the Magna Carta. Though incapable from his character of pursuing the violent maxims which had governed his father, Henry had imbibed the same arbitrary principles; and, in prosecution of Peter's advice, he invited over a great number of Poitevins and other foreigners in whom he placed greater confidence than in his English subjects, and expected to find them useful in counterbalancing the great and independent power of the nobles. Offices and commands were bestowed on these strangers; they exhausted the revenues of the crown, already too much impoverished; they invaded the rights of the people; and their insolence, or, at least, what appeared so, drew on them general hatred and envy.

As the king had married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence (January 14, 1236), he was surrounded by a number of strangers from that country also, whom he caressed with the fondest affection, and enriched by his imprudent generosity. The resentment of the English barons rose high at the preference given to foreigners, but no remonstrance or complaint could ever prevail on the king to abandon them, or even to moderate his attachment towards them. The king's conduct would have appeared more tolerable to his English subjects had anything been done meanwhile for the honour of the nation, or had Henry's enterprises in foreign countries been attended with success or glory to himself or the public. But though he declared war against Louis IX. in 1242, and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his stepfather, the count de la Marche, who promised to join him with all his forces, he was worsted at Taillebourg; was deserted by his allies; abandoned Poitou, and was obliged to return, with loss of honour, into England. The people of Guienne attempted to throw off his obedience, but failed (1253). These wars involved Henry and his nobility in an enormous debt, which both increased their discontents and exposed him to greater danger from their opposition.

§ 13. But the chief grievances of the reign were the usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome. The best benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians; and non-residence and pluralities were carried to enormous lengths. It was estimated by Grostête that the benefices held by the Italian clergy in England amounted to 60,000 marks a year, a sum which equalled the annual revenues of the crown. Upon occasion of a Crusade for the Holy Land

(1245), Innocent IV. demanded a moiety of all ecclesiastical profits for three years; a moiety of all impropriations and of all benefices where the incumbent was non-resident; a twentieth of all incomes amounting to 100 marks, and a third of all beyond that sum. He attempted to claim the goods of intestate clergymen; annulled usurious bonds, and when, backed by the church, the king, contrary to his usual practice, prohibited these exactions, Innocent threatened him with excommunication.

A more mischievous influence was exerted by Alexander IV., who involved Henry in a project for the conquest of Naples, or Sicily on this side the Fare or Straits of Messina, then held by Manfred as the representative of the Hohenstaufen (1255). He claimed to dispose of the Sicilian crown, both as superior lord of that particular kingdom, and as vicar of Christ, to whom all kingdoms of the earth were subjected; and he made a tender of it to Henry for his second son Edmund. Henry accepted the insidious proposal, gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever sums he thought necessary for completing the conquest, and, when Alexander pressed for payment, Henry was surprised to find himself on a sudden entangled in an immense debt of 135,500 marks, beside interest. He applied to the parliament for supplies, but the barons and prelates refused, determined not to lavish their money on such chimerical projects. In this extremity the clergy were his only resource, and they offered Henry 52,000 marks, a sum wholly inadequate to his necessities (1257).

§ 14. About the same time Richard, earl of Cornwall, the brother of the king, was engaged in an enterprise no less ruinous. The immense opulence of Richard had made the German princes cast their eyes on him as a candidate for the empire, and he was tempted to expend vast sums of money on his election. He succeeded so far as to be chosen, by a double election, as king of the Romans, with Alfonso X. of Castile, and was crowned by his partisans (1257). But he never attained the imperial power, and found at last that he had lavished the frugality of a life on an empty title.

The king was engaged in constant disputes with his barons, and was compelled to confirm the Great Charter; on one occasion with extraordinary solemnity (1253). All the prelates and abbots were assembled; they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them; they denounced the sentence of excommunication against every one who should thenceforth violate that fundamental law; then they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, *May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and perish in hell!* The king bore a part in

this ceremony, saying, "So help me God, I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed." Yet no sooner was this tremendous ceremony finished, than his favourites, abusing his weakness, made him return to the same arbitrary and irregular courses, and the reasonable expectations of his people were thus perpetually eluded and disappointed. These imprudent and illegal measures provoked an avenger in Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, a younger son of that Simon de Montfort who had conducted the crusade against the Albigenses. He had married the king's sister, Eleanor, widow of the earl of Pembroke; had governed Gascony for some years with vigour and success; and he had now returned home dissatisfied with the little support he had received from the king, who wanted either the ability or inclination to aid him. To add to these causes of aggravation, he had been for some time engaged in a tedious litigation with the king touching his wife's jointure. De Montfort was supported by the clergy, and was the intimate friend of Adam de Marsh and Robert Grostête. He called a meeting of the most considerable barons, who embraced the resolution of redressing the public grievances by taking the administration into their own hands. Henry having summoned a parliament (April 9th—May 2, 1258) in expectation of receiving supplies for his Sicilian project, the barons appeared in the hall clad in complete armour, and with their swords by their sides. After a violent altercation, the king promised to summon another parliament at Oxford on June 11, in order to arrange a new plan of government.

§ 15. This parliament, which the royalists, and even the nation, afterwards denominated the *Mad Parliament*, met on the day appointed. As the barons brought with them their military retainers, and appeared with an armed force, the king, who had taken no similar precautions, was in reality a prisoner, and was obliged to submit to any terms they were pleased to dictate. A council of state, consisting of 24 barons, was selected to make the necessary reforms. The king himself took an oath that he would maintain whatever ordinances they should think proper to enact for that purpose. Simon de Montfort was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was thus in reality transferred; and all their measures were taken by his influence and direction. By their chief enactments, called the *Provisions of Oxford*, four knights were to be chosen by each county, to point out such grievances of their neighbourhood as required redress; three sessions of parliament were to be regularly held every year, in the months of February, June, and October, at which twelve per-

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sons chosen by the barons should act for the whole commonalty; sheriffs were to hold office for one year only; the great officers of state were annually to give an account of their proceedings; no heirs were to be committed to the wardship of foreigners, and no castles intrusted to their custody. Soon after the king's eldest son, Edward, in his twentieth year, pledged his oath to observe these provisions, and the king publicly declared his assent to them.

Opinions are divided as to the purity of De Montfort's intentions. It is certain that many among the barons had no other object than to secure the aggrandisement of their own order. At their head was Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester. They formed an association among themselves, and swore that they would stand by each other with their lives and fortunes; they displaced all the chief ministers of the crown, the justiciary, the chancellor, the treasurer, and advanced either themselves or their creatures to the vacant offices. When they had thus transferred to themselves all powers of the state, they proceeded to impose an oath, by which all subjects were obliged to swear, under the penalty of being declared public enemies, that they would obey and execute all the regulations, both known and unknown, of the barons. Not content with this usurpation of the royal power, they introduced an innovation in the constitution of parliament, of the utmost importance. They ordained that this assembly should choose a committee of twelve persons, who should, in the intervals of the session, possess the authority of the whole parliament, and should, on a summons, attend the person of the king in all his movements. Thus the monarchy was totally subverted, without its being possible for the king to strike a single stroke in defence of the constitution against the newly elected oligarchy.

§ 16. But, in proportion to their continuance in power, the barons began gradually to lose that popularity which had assisted them in obtaining it. The fears of the nation were roused by certain new edicts, obviously calculated to procure immunity to the barons in all their violences. They appointed that the circuits of the itinerant justices, the sole check on their arbitrary conduct, should be held only once in seven years; and men easily saw that a remedy which returned after such long intervals against an oppressive power which was perpetual, would prove totally insignificant and useless.* The cry became loud in the nation that the barons should produce their intended regulations. The current of popularity now turned to the side of the crown, and the rivalry between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the chief leaders among the barons, began to disunite the whole confederacy.

* This is doubtful. See Prof. Pearson's History, II. 227.

Louis IX., who then governed France, used all his authority with the earl of Leicester, his native subject, to bend him to compliance with Henry. He made a treaty with England (20th May, 1259) at a time when the distractions of that kingdom were at the greatest height, and when the king's authority was totally annihilated; and the terms which he granted might, in a more prosperous state of affairs, have been deemed reasonable and advantageous to the English. He invaded certain territories which had been conquered from Poitou and Guienne; he insured the peaceable possession of the latter province to Henry; he agreed to pay him a large sum of money; and he only required that in return Henry should make a final cession of Normandy and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. The cession thus made by the barons was ratified by Henry, his two sons and two daughters, and by the king of the Romans and his three sons.

§ 17. The situation of Henry soon after wore a more favourable aspect, and the desertion of the earl of Gloucester to the crown seemed to promise him certain success in any attempt to recover his authority. The pope absolved him from his oath; but his son Edward refused to accept the like dispensation. The king soon afterwards seized the Tower of London, resumed the government, and levied mercenary troops. Thus began the civil contest which is called "the Barons' War." Leicester retired to France, but the death of the earl of Gloucester, and the accession of his son Gilbert de Clare to Leicester's side, soon changed the scene (1262). The war was carried on with various success, till at length the king and the barons agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of the king of France. At a congress at Amiens (January, 1264) Louis annulled the Provisions of Oxford, left the king free to appoint his own ministers, employ allies, and enjoy his royal authority as unrestricted as before. But this decision, instead of quenching the flames, only caused them to break forth with redoubled vehemence. Leicester, having summoned his partisans from all quarters, gained next year a decisive victory over the royal forces at Lewes (May 14), taking Henry and his brother, the king of the Romans, prisoners. Prince Edward, who commanded the right wing of the royal army, was obliged to assent to a treaty with the conqueror, called from an old French term *the Mise of Lewes*. In order to obtain the liberation of the English monarch, prince Edward, and Henry, son of the king of the Romans, surrendered themselves as hostages. Peace was declared (May 25), and was finally settled by a parliament at London (June 11, 1264).

§ 18. Acting as sole regent, De Montfort now proceeded to sum-

mon a parliament. Writs * were issued in the king's name from Worcester, summoning a new parliament in London (January 20, 1265), which forms a memorable epoch in constitutional history. Besides the barons of Leicester's party, and 117 ecclesiastics (for the clergy in general sided with De Montfort), he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire, and of two representatives from each borough. This is usually regarded as the first meeting of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, but Leicester only anticipated Edward I. in an institution for which the general state of things was now preparing the nation.† Thus supported by a parliament of his own model, and trusting to the attachment of the populace of London, De Montfort seized the opportunity of crushing his rivals among the powerful barons.

§ 19. But he soon found himself embarrassed by the opposition, as well as by the escape, of prince Edward. The royalists, secretly prepared for this latter event, immediately flew to arms; and the joy of this gallant prince's deliverance, the expectation of a new scene of affairs, and the accession of the earl of Gloucester, procured Edward an army which Leicester was unable to withstand. He was defeated and killed at the battle of Evesham (August 4, 1265), with his eldest son Henry, and about 160 knights, and many other gentlemen of his party. The king, placed by the rebels in front, and disguised by his vizor, was wounded in the battle and in danger of his life; but crying out, *I am Henry of Winchester, your king,* he was saved, and put in a place of safety by his son, who flew to his rescue. The lifeless body of Leicester was mangled by the victors, exasperated at this wanton exposure of the king's person, but he was long regarded as a martyr to the cause of liberty, and miracles were ascribed to his remains. The victory of Evesham proved decisive, and the king's authority was re-established in all parts of the kingdom. All further resistance was ended by the moderate terms granted by prince Edward in the "Dictum de Kenilworth" (October 15, 1266); and a parliament at Marlborough, a year after, confirmed the king's title, while binding him afresh to the observance of the Great Charter.

* Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 401.

† "Important as is this assembly in the history of the constitution, it was not primarily and essentially a constitutional assembly. It was not a general convocation of tenants *in capite*, or of the three estates, but a parliamentary assembly of the supporters of the existing government." Only five earls were summoned and eighteen barons, ten of whom were friends of De Montfort. Stubbs, *Const.*

Hist. ii. 92. If, in fact, this assembly be considered in its real character as a convention of De Montfort's supporters, the admission of representatives from the towns, who were not regularly summoned, affords less difficulty. In England, and still more in De Montfort's native land, the towns had now gained so much in wealth and political importance, that it was natural he should avail himself of their support.

§ 20. Finding the state of the kingdom thus composed, Edward was led (1270) by his avidity for glory, and in fulfilment of a vow made during his captivity, as well as by the earnest solicitations of the king of France, to undertake an expedition against the infidels in the Holy Land. He sailed from England with an army, accompanied by his wife, Eleanor of Castile, and arrived in the camp of Louis IX. before Tunis in Africa, where he found that monarch already dead, from the sickliness of the climate and the fatigues of his enterprise. Undeterred by this event, he continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he signalized himself (1271) by acts of valour, revived the glory of the English name, and struck such terror into the Saracens, that they employed an assassin to murder him, who wounded him in the arm, but perished in the attempt. In her heroic affection Eleanor sucked the poison from her husband's wound. During his absence the old king expired at Bury St. Edmunds (November 16, 1272), in the 66th year of his age, and 57th of his reign, and was buried in the new abbey church of Westminster, which he had rebuilt. His brother, the king of the Romans, had died nearly a year before him.

The most obvious feature of Henry's character is an incapacity for government, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his ministers and favourites, and as little at his own disposal, as when detained a captive in the hands of his enemies. From this source, rather than from insincerity and treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises; and he was too easily induced, for the sake of present convenience, to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the trust and confidence of his people.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ON THE AMALGAMATION OF THE ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN RACES.

The period at which this event took place has given rise to much discussion. It was the favourite theory of Thierry that the distinction between the two races continued till a very late time, Lord Macaulay supposes the amalgamation to have taken place between the accession of John and the death of Edward I. But even this is too long. The distinction was greatly obliterated in the reign of Henry II., and more com-

pletely so after the separation of Normandy from England in the reign of John.

B. CONFIRMATIONS OF THE GREAT CHARTER.

The Great Charter had no fewer than thirty-eight solemn ratifications recorded: six by Henry III., three by Edward I., fifteen by Edward III., six by Richard II., six by Henry IV., one by Henry V., and one by Henry VI. The most important change in the charter, as confirmed by Henry III., was the omission of the clause which prohibited the levying of aids or escuages save by the

common council of the realm. Though this clause was omitted, it was generally observed during the reign of Henry, the barons constantly refusing him the aids or subsidies which his prodigality demanded. But he still retained the right of levying money upon towns under the name of tallage, and he also claimed other imposts, as upon the export of wool. On *Magna Carta*, see Blackstone's *Introduction to the Charter*; Thomson's *Essay on Magna Carta*; Creasy, *On the English Constitution*, pp. 128, seq.

C. TRIAL BY JURY.

We have already adverted (p. 78) to the mistaken and now obsolete opinion, that trial by jury existed in England in the Anglo-Saxon times. The twelve thanes who sat in the sheriff's court have no analogy to a modern jury except in their number. Their function of presenting offenders gave them more the resemblance of the present grand jury; and they seem, like the *scabini* or *échevins* of the continent, to have formed a permanent magistracy. So also the Anglo-Saxon compurgators resembled the witnesses in a modern trial rather than jurymen.

The first approach to trial by jury is the Grand Assize introduced in the reign of Henry II. By this custom, in a suit for the recovery of land, a tenant who was unwilling to risk a judicial combat might put himself on the assize—that is, refer the case to four knights chosen by the sheriff, who in their turn selected twelve more. The sixteen knights thus impanelled were then sworn, and decided the case by their verdict. In the assize of Novel Disseisin the twelve knights were chosen directly by the sheriff. Whether the words in the charter of John, that "a man is to be tried by the lawful judgment of his peers," really mean trial by jury may admit of dispute; but at any rate they clearly recognize the great principle upon which trial by jury rests.

In criminal cases, at all events, we find an approach to a jury under Henry III. Trial by ordeal had now grown

out of fashion; and though the trial by combat still remained, it could not of course be practised unless some prosecutor appeared. But as a person vehemently suspected of a crime might be committed to safe custody on the presentation of a jury, he had the option of appealing to a second jury which was sometimes composed of twelve persons. Such a jury, however, still differed from a modern one in the essential principle, that it did not come to a decision upon the evidence of others. The jurors in fact continued to be witnesses, and founded their verdict on their own knowledge of the prisoner and of the facts of the case. Hence they are often called *recognitors*, because they decided from previous knowledge or recognition, including what they had heard and believed to be true. They seem to have admitted documentary evidence, but parole evidence seldom or never.

The great distinction between a modern and an ancient jury lies in the circumstance, that the former are not witnesses themselves, but merely judges of the testimony of others. A previous knowledge of the facts of the case, which would now be an objection to a juryman, constituted in former days his merit and eligibility. At what precise period witnesses distinct from the jury themselves, and who had no voice in the verdict, first began to be regularly summoned, cannot be ascertained. The first trace of such a practice occurs in the 23rd year of Edward III., and it had probably been creeping in previously. That it was perfectly established by the middle of the 15th century, we have clear evidence from Fortescue's treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (c. 26), written about that period. Personal knowledge of a case continued to be allowed in a juror, who was even required to act upon it; and it was not till a comparatively recent period that the complete separation of the functions of juryman and witness was established.

For further information on this subject see Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. ch. viii. pt. i. and note viii.; Forsyth's *History of Trial by Jury*; and Stubbs's *Constitutional Hist. of England*, i. 608.



Edward I. From the Tower.

CHAPTER IX.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET—*Continued.*

THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II. A.D. 1272-1327.

Accession of EDWARD I. Civil administration. § 2. Conquest of Wales. § 3. Persecution of the Jews. § 4. Disputed succession to the Scottish crown. Award of Edward. § 5. War with France. § 6. Conquest of Scotland. § 7. War with France. Dissensions of the barons and confirmation of the charters. § 8. Peace with France. Revolt of Scotland. § 9. Battle of Falkirk. Death of Wallace. § 10. Insurrection of Robert Bruce. § 11. Edward's last expedition against Scotland. His death and character. § 12. Accession of EDWARD II. Weakness of the king and discontent of the barons. § 13. Banishment and murder of Gaveston. § 14. War with Scotland. § 15. Hugh le Despenser. Civil commotions. Lancaster executed. § 16. Truce with Scotland. Conspiracy against the king. He is dethroned and murdered.

§ 1. EDWARD I., *b.* 1239; *r.* 1272-1307.—For the first time since the Conquest the sovereign authority of the king was fully recognized before his coronation. As soon as Henry was laid in the

tomb, the assembled nobles, of their own free will, advanced to the great altar, took an oath of fealty to Edward, "though," says Matthew of Westminster,* "men were ignorant whether he was alive, for he had gone to distant countries beyond the sea, warring against the enemies of Christ" (November 20, 1272). They caused the "king's peace" to be proclaimed through England, and henceforth that proclamation marked the beginning of each new reign.† Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of his father's death; but, as he soon learned the quiet settlement of the kingdom, under Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, keeper of the great seal, Roger Mortimer, and Robert Burnel, a clerk of great merit, as guardians of the realm, he was in no hurry to take possession of the throne, but spent more than a year in Italy and France before he made his appearance in England. After arranging the affairs of the province of Guienne, and settling a dispute between the countess of Flanders and his subjects, he landed at Dover (August 2, 1274), and was crowned at Westminster (August 19) by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury. In a parliament which he summoned at Westminster, in the following April, he took care to enquire into the conduct of all his magistrates and judges, to provide them with sufficient force for the execution of justice, to displace such as were either negligent or corrupt, to extirpate all bands and confederacies of robbers, and to repress those more silent robberies which were committed either by the power of the nobles or under the countenance of public authority.

Soon after, Edward issued commissions to enquire into all encroachments on the royal demesne; the value of escheats, forfeitures, and wardships; and the means of improving every branch of the revenue. In the execution of their office (1278), the commissioners questioned titles to estates which had been transmitted from father to son for several generations. When earl Warrenne, who had done eminent service in the late reign, was required to show his titles, he produced a rusty sword. "See, my lords," he exclaimed, "here is my title deed. My ancestors came over with William the Bastard, and conquered their lands with the sword, and with the sword will I defend them." Though the claim was unfounded—for the earl was descended only by the female line from an illegitimate half-brother of Henry I.—it expressed the feelings of the old feudatories. The king, sensible of the danger he was incurring, after a time desisted from making

* Rishanger makes the New Temple | which was dated from the moment of his
the scene of the oath. | father's death.

† Till the accession of Edward VI., |

further enquiries of this nature; but he caused a strict investigation to be instituted into his father's grants to the church, and in 1279 he passed the Statute *De Religiosis* or of Mortmain (*in mortuâ manu*),* by which it was forbidden to bequeath lands and tenements to religious corporations without the king's licence.

§ 2. In the year 1283 was completed the conquest of Wales, one of the most important events of this reign. Llewelyn, prince of Wales, had been deeply engaged with the party of De Montfort, and had been included in the general accommodation made with the vanquished; but, as he had reason to dread the future effects of resentment and jealousy in the English monarch, he maintained a secret correspondence with his former associates, and was betrothed to Eleanor, daughter of the earl of Leicester, who was sent to him from France, but, being intercepted in her passage near the isles of Scilly, was detained in the court of England. This incident increased the mutual jealousy between Edward and Llewelyn. Edward sent him repeated summons to perform the duty of a vassal, and in 1276 levied an army to reduce him to obedience. The same intestine dissensions which had formerly weakened England now prevailed in Wales, and divided the reigning family. David and Roderic, brothers of Llewelyn, on some cause of discontent had recourse to Edward, and seconded with all their interest, which was extensive, his attempts to subdue their native country. Equally vigorous and cautious, Edward, entering by the north with a formidable army, pierced into the heart of the country; and having carefully explored every road before him, and secured every pass behind him, approached the Welsh army in its last retreat among the hills of Snowdon. Destitute of resources, cooped up in a narrow corner, they, as well as their cattle, suffered all the rigours of famine; and Llewelyn, without being able to strike a blow for his independence, was at last obliged to submit at discretion, and accept the terms imposed upon him by the victor (1277). He returned with Edward to England, and did homage to the king at Westminster; after which he received his bride, and was allowed to return to Wales. But complaints soon arose on the side of the vanquished. Prince David made peace with his brother, and on Palm Sunday, 1282, stormed Hawarden castle in his efforts for

* As the members of religious or monastic bodies were reckoned dead in law, land helden by them might with great propriety be said to be held *in mortuâ manu* (Kerr's *Blackstone*, i. 509). It must not be overlooked that the act was directed not so much against the clergy as against the *religiosi* (*religati*),

"bound," that is, by monastic vows. The encroachments of the great religious houses were as unfavourable to the bishops and clergy as to the crown. The identification of these bodies with the church of England by modern historians is a perpetual source of confusion.

independence. The Welsh flew to arms; and Edward, probably not displeased with the occasion of making his conquest final and absolute, assembled all his military tenants, and advanced into Wales with an army which the inhabitants could not reasonably hope to resist. The situation of the country gave the Welsh at first some advantage; but Llewelyn was surprised and slain. His head was carried to London, and, in derision of a prophecy that he should wear a crown in Westcheap, it was borne on a pole, adorned with a diadem of silver ivy-leaves, and fixed upon the Tower (1282). David, who succeeded his brother, could never collect an army sufficient to face the English. Chased from hill to hill and hunted from one retreat to another, he was obliged to conceal himself under various disguises, and was at last betrayed to the enemy. Edward sent him in chains to Shrewsbury; and brought him to a formal trial before the peers of England, who ordered him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor (1283). The Welsh now laid down their arms; the lords who had joined in the rebellion were deprived of their lands; Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Merionethshire, with Flint, Cardigan, and Caermarthenshire, were retained by the crown. Into these new districts the English laws, with English judges and sheriffs, were introduced by the Statute of Wales (1284); whilst in the rest of the country the marchers were permitted to retain their ancient privileges and customs. Many strong castles were built, and English people settled in several of the chief towns.* This important conquest, which it had required 800 years fully to effect, was at last, through the abilities of Edward, now completed. It was long before national antipathies were extinguished. The principality was annexed to the crown of England; and Edward's second surviving son, who was born at Caernarvon (April 25, 1284), was, on the death of his elder brother Alfonso in August, invested with that dignity, which henceforth gave their title to the eldest sons of the kings of England.

§ 3. The settlement of Wales appeared so complete that in 1286 Edward visited Paris, to renew his homage (June 5) and make peace between Alfonso, king of Aragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father, Philip the Hardy, on the throne of France. He had received powers from both princes to settle the terms, and he succeeded in his endeavours. He remained abroad above three years; and on his return found many disorders arising from open violence and the corruption of justice. To remedy these abuses, he summoned a parliament (1290), and brought the judges to trial, when all of them, except two, who were ecclesiastics, were con-

* Among these towns were Brecknock, Caermarthen, Montgomery, and Radnor, which the marchers were obliged to surrender to the crown.

victed of this crime, fined, and deposed. The same year was marked by the banishment of the Jews from England. Throughout Edward's reign the Jews had experienced both his anxiety for their conversion and the judicial rigour with which he visited their real or imputed offences. For the former purpose he built and endowed a hospital, now the Rolls' house in Chancery lane, for the support of his expected converts and their instruction in Christianity. Of his rigour the following are some examples:—Clipping the coin was in the early part of Edward's reign a crime of frequent occurrence, and its perpetration was facilitated by the custom, sanctioned by the laws, of cutting the silver penny into halves and quarters. In 1278, no less than 280 Jews were hanged for this crime in London alone, the mere possession of clipped money being deemed sufficient evidence of guilt. Many Christians, guilty of the same offence, were only heavily fined. About eight years afterwards all the Jews in England, including women and children, were thrown into prison for some imputed offence; and detained till they had paid a fine of 12,000*l.* At last in July, 1290, the whole race was banished the kingdom, to the number of 16,511. This severe step is attributed to the persuasion of Eleanor, the king's mother. Their lands and dwellings were forfeited, but Edward allowed them to carry abroad their money and movables, which proved a temptation to the sailors and others to murder many of them; for which, however, the king inflicted capital punishment. Jews were not permitted to live in England till the time of the Commonwealth.

§ 4. We turn to the affairs of Scotland, not the least important in this reign. Alexander III., who had espoused Margaret, the sister of Edward, died in 1286, without leaving any male issue, or any descendant, except a granddaughter, Margaret, born of Eric, king of Norway, and of Margaret, daughter of the Scottish monarch. This princess, commonly called *The Maid of Norway*, had, through her grandfather's care, been recognized as his successor by the Scottish estates; and on Alexander's death she was acknowledged queen of Scotland. On this incident, Edward was led to build mighty projects; and having lately, by force of arms, brought Wales into subjection, he proposed, by the marriage of Margaret with his eldest son, to unite the whole island under one monarchy. The estates of Scotland assented to the English proposals; but the project, so happily formed and so amicably conducted, failed of success by the sudden death of the Norwegian princess, who expired on her passage to Scotland (1290), and left a very dismal prospect to the kingdom. Numerous competitors sprung up; but three only had any real claim to the crown. These

were the descendants of the three daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon, and brother of William the Lion, king of Scotland, who was taken prisoner by Henry II.: John Balliol, lord of Galloway, grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter; Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, son of Isabel, the second daughter; and Hastings, lord of Abergavenny, grandson of Ada, the third daughter. Balliol and Bruce laid claim to the whole kingdom; and Hastings maintained that, in right of his mother, he was entitled to a third of it. The estates of Scotland, threatened with a civil war, agreed to refer the dispute to Edward; and he used the present favourable opportunity for reviving the claim of the English kings to a feudal superiority over Scotland. He caused the records of the monasteries to be searched for precedents of homage rendered by Scottish kings to English sovereigns. Backed with a great army, he repaired to Norham, on the banks of the Tweed, and invited the Scottish estates, and all the competitors, to attend him "as sovereign lord of the land of Scotland," and have their claims determined (1291). Astonished at so new a pretension, the Scots preserved silence; but were desired by Edward to return into their own country, deliberate upon his claim, and to inform him of their resolution. For this purpose he appointed a plain at Upsettleton, on the northern bank of the Tweed.

When the Scots had assembled in the place appointed, though indignant at the claim thus preferred, and the situation into which they were betrayed, they found it impossible for them to make any defence for their ancient liberty and independence. After some debate, Edward's claim was acknowledged by the nine competitors for the crown (June 5), and the next day the royal castles were put into his hands. Shortly after, a court, consisting of 80 Scots, and 24 Englishmen as their assessors, met at Berwick (August 2, 1292), and in the following November they reported in favour of Balliol. Edward gave sentence accordingly, and on the 26th December he received the homage of Balliol for the kingdom of Scotland.

The conduct of Edward, however otherwise unexceptionable, was irksome to his royal vassal. Balliol was required to proceed to London, and obliged to appear at the bar of parliament.* Though a prince of a soft and gentle spirit, he returned into Scotland highly

* Chiefly on complaints of a "denial of justice" in the Scottish courts. This was made particularly offensive to the vassal king in some cases, as in the suit of John Le Mason, a Gascon, who claimed a debt contracted by Alexander II., but which his executors satisfied the Scottish court

had been paid. The English court overruled this decision, and, though Balliol was not pretended to have any personal interest in the matter, he was ordered to pay the money, under a threat of losing his English lands.

provoked at this usage, and determined at all hazards to recover his liberty. The war which soon after broke out between France and England gave him a favourable opportunity for executing his purpose.

§ 5. In an accidental encounter between the crews of an English and a Norman vessel in a Norman port, one of the former was killed. A series of reprisals ensued on both sides, and the sea became a scene of piracy between both nations. At length a fleet of 200 Norman vessels set sail to the south for wine. In their passage they captured all the English ships which they met with, seized the goods, and hanged the seamen. The inhabitants of the English seaports, informed of this incident, fitted out a fleet of 60 sail, stronger and better manned than the others, and awaited the enemy on their return. After an obstinate battle, the English put them to the rout, and sunk, destroyed, or took the greater part of them (1293). The affair was now become too important to be any longer neglected by either sovereign. Philip IV. cited the king, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for these offences; and Edward, finding himself in immediate danger of war with the Scots, allowed himself to be deceived by an artifice of Philip, who proposed that, if Edward would consent to put Guienne into his hands, he should consider his honour was fully satisfied, would restore the province immediately, and be content with a moderate reparation of all other injuries. But no sooner was Philip in possession of Guienne than the citation was renewed; Edward was condemned for non-appearance, and Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown (1294). Enraged at being thus overreached, Edward formed alliances with several princes on the continent, sent a powerful army into Guienne, met at first with some success, but was ultimately defeated in every quarter. To divide the English forces, and to engage Edward in dangerous wars, Philip now formed an alliance with Balliol, king of Scotland, who renounced his homage to Edward. This was the commencement of that strict union which during so many centuries was maintained by mutual interests and necessities between the French and Scottish nations.

§ 6. The expenses attending these frequent wars of Edward, and his preparations for war, joined to alterations which had insensibly taken place in the general state of affairs, obliged him to have constant recourse to parliament for supplies. He became sensible that the most expeditious way of obtaining them was to assemble deputies from the boroughs, and to lay his necessities before them. In 1295 writs were first issued to the bishops and clergy; on the 1st October to the barons; on the 3rd to the sheriffs, stating that the

king intended to hold a conference or parliament, with his earls, barons, and nobles, to provide against the dangers of the realm. They were therefore commanded to see two knights elected from every shire, and two burgesses of the better sort from every borough and city, "to execute whatever should be ordained in the premises by common consent."* As a representation of the three estates, this parliament of Edward I. may be considered as the model of those that followed it, and the first step towards limiting the vaguer sense in which the word parliament had till then been employed.

When Edward received intelligence of the treaty secretly concluded between John and Philip, he marched into Scotland with a numerous army, to chastise his rebellious vassal (1296). He gained a decisive victory over the Scots near Dunbar. All the southern parts of the country were instantly subdued by the English; and the feeble and timid Balliol hastened to make a solemn and irrevocable resignation of his crown to Edward (July 2). The English king marched to Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy; and having brought the whole kingdom to a seeming state of tranquillity, he returned to the south with his army, removing from Scone the stone on which the Scotch kings were inaugurated, and to which popular superstition paid the highest veneration.† Balliol was carried prisoner to London, and committed to the Tower. Three years after he was restored to liberty, and retired to France, where he died in voluntary exile (1314). John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, was left governor of Scotland (September 29).

§ 7. An attempt which Edward made about the same time for the recovery of Guienne was not equally successful. In order to carry on the war, the king stood in need of large sums of money, which he raised by arbitrary exactions both on the clergy and laity. Pressed by his necessities, he had seized, four years before, the wool of the merchants, and only released it after payment of four or five marks the sack. He had appropriated the treasure found in monasteries and cathedrals. In 1297 he had put the clergy out of his protection for refusing a new demand. After a violent struggle, they were obliged to submit, and to pay a fifth part of

* "Ad faciendum quod tunc de communi consilio ordinabitur in premissis." The words are ambiguous; but can scarcely mean anything more than that these new representatives of the commons were to take measures for raising the aids required in their several counties and boroughs. The writs contemplated

no more than this; and no legislative privilege is implied in them. For whilst the writs to the clergy and baronage contain a preamble, *ad tractandum nobiscum*, etc., no such clause is found in the writs to the commons.

† Now in the shrine of Edward the Confessor, Westminster Abbey.

all their movables. But the nobles and the commons were more successful in their resistance, and they found intrepid leaders in Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, the constable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the marshal of England. Edward, intending to attack France on both sides, purposed to send over an army to Guienne, while he himself should in person make an impression on the side of Flanders. These forces he intended to place under the command of the earls of Hereford and of Norfolk. But they refused, affirming that they were only obliged by their office to attend his person in the wars. A violent altercation ensued. The king, in the height of his passion, addressing himself to the earl marshal, exclaimed, *Sir Earl, by God, you shall either go or hang.* By *God, Sir King,* replied Norfolk, *I will neither go nor hang.* And he immediately departed with the constable, and above thirty other considerable barons.

In the face of such an opposition the king laid aside the project of an expedition against Guienne, and crossed over into Flanders; but the constable and marshal, with the barons of their party, resolved to take advantage of his absence, and obtain an explicit assent to their demands. Summoned to attend the parliament at London, they came with a great body of troops, but refused to enter the city until the gates should be put into their custody (October 10). They required that the two charters (the Great Charter and that of the Forests) should receive a solemn confirmation; that clauses should be added to secure the nation against certain impositions and taxes without consent of "the magnates" (parliament); and that they themselves and their adherents, who had refused to go to Guienne, should be pardoned for the offence, and be again received into favour. The prince of Wales and his council assented to these terms, and the charters were sent over to the king at Ghent in Flanders, to be confirmed by him (November 5, 1297). Edward was at last obliged, after many struggles, to affix his seal to the charters, as also to the clauses that bereft him of the power he had hitherto assumed of imposing arbitrary aids and tolls. This took place in the 25th year of his reign. He attempted subsequently to evade these engagements, and in 1305 secretly applied to Rome, and procured from that mercenary court absolution from all the oaths and engagements which he had taken to observe both the charters; but he soon after granted a new confirmation. Thus, the Great Charter was finally established.*

* As to what was meant by the king and his opponents, the nobles, by the confirmation of the Charters (*Magna Carta* and *De Foresta*), there is no doubt and no difficulty. But it is by no means so clear, as is sometimes represented, that Edward absolutely renounced all right of imposing taxation without the consent of the

In March, 1298, peace was concluded between France and England by the mediation of Boniface VIII. Philip agreed to restore Guienne; Edward agreed to abandon his ally, the earl of Flanders. The treaty was cemented by the double betrothal of king Edward with Margaret, Philip's sister, and of the young prince of Wales with Philip's infant daughter. Edward had lost his devoted wife, Eleanor, at Haroby, near Lincoln, in 1290, and had buried her at Westminster with extraordinary honours. His second marriage took place in 1299.

§ 8. But while Edward was still abroad, Scotland was the scene of a successful insurrection. William Wallace, of Ellerslie, near Paisley, descended from an ancient family in the west of Scotland, finding himself obnoxious to the government for murdering the sheriff of Lanark, had fled into the woods and collected a band of outlaws. Growing strong by the neglect of those in authority, he resolved to strike a decisive blow against the English government. With this view, he concerted a plan for attacking Ormesby, to whom as justiciary the government had been deputed by John de Warrenne. Ormesby, apprized of his intentions, fled hastily into England. De Warrenne, having collected an army of 40,000 men in the north of England, suddenly entered Scotland, but was defeated by Wallace with great slaughter at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling (September 11, 1297). Among the slain was Cressingham, the English treasurer, whose memory was so extremely odious to the Scots that they flayed his dead body, and made saddles and girths of his skin. Breaking into the northern frontiers during the winter season, Wallace exercised horrible atrocities. He laid every place waste with fire and sword; and after extending the fury of his ravages as far as the bishopric of Durham, he returned, laden with spoils, into his own country.

§ 9. Edward hastened over to England, and, putting himself at the head of an army, marched to the Forth without experiencing any opposition. He gained a decisive victory over the Scots at Falkirk (July 22, 1298). Wallace fled; the Scottish army was broken, and chased off the field with great slaughter. But Scotland was not yet completely subdued. The English army, after reducing the southern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of

nation, or that the barons ever demanded as much. What the king really did grant was, (1) that the aids levied by him for his wars should not be drawn into a precedent; and (2) that he would take no such aids henceforth, except by consent of the nation, *saving the ancient and customary aids*. These reservations are

far more consonant with the spirit of the times and the gradual development of the constitution than the Latin abstract of the chronicler, which is not found on the Roll, or in any authorized form. (See *Statutes of the Realm*, i. 124, reprinted by Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 484.)

provisions, and left the northern counties in the hands of the natives, whose nobles formed a commission of regency under John Comyn, lord of Badenoch. In 1303 the French king abandoned the Scots, and Edward, again entering the frontiers of Scotland, appeared with a force which the enemy could not think of resisting in the open field. The English navy, which sailed along the coast, secured the army from danger of famine; Edward's vigilance preserved it from surprises; and by this prudent disposition he marched victorious from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, ravaging the open country, reducing the castles, and receiving the submissions of the nobles, and even that of the regent, Comyn (February, 1304). Wallace, now a fugitive, was captured by Sir John Monteith, governor of Dumbarton castle, and given up to the king.* Edward resolved to overawe the Scots by an example of severity. He ordered Wallace to be carried in chains to London, to be tried and executed as a rebel and traitor, and his head to be suspended on a pole over London Bridge (August 23, 1305). It was not long before a new and more fortunate leader presented himself.

§ 10. By his grandfather's death in 1295, and his father's in 1305, Robert Bruce, grandson of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown, had succeeded to all their rights. The retirement of John Balliol, and of Edward, his eldest son, seemed to open a full career to his genius and ambition. Of English lineage, and born at Westminster (1274), Bruce was brought up in England at the court of Edward I. Incurring the anger of the king for remonstrating against the execution of Wallace, Bruce suddenly left the court of Edward (1305). Halting at Dumfries, where the Scottish nobles were assembled, he met Comyn, the son of Balliol's sister, and nearest successor to the Scottish throne, in the cloisters of the Grey Friars. Having vainly tried to win over Comyn to his cause, Bruce ran him through the body, leaving him for dead. Coming forth to his attendants, who observed his agitation, he was asked, "What tidings?" "Bad," he replied. "I think I have slain Comyn!" "Think!" cried James Lindesay, and returning with Kilpatrick into the vestry, where Comyn lay, Lindesay stabbed him to the heart (February, 1306).

§ 11. The murder of Comyn affixed the seal to the confederacy of the Scottish nobles: no resource was now left but to shake off the yoke of England, or perish in the attempt. Bruce was solemnly crowned and inaugurated, in the abbey of Scone, by the bishop of St. Andrews, whom Edward had made warden of Scotland, and who had zealously embraced the Scottish cause (March 27, 1306). Not discouraged with these unexpected difficulties, Edward

* *Fondun* xii. 8.

sent Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, with a considerable force into Scotland to check the progress of the malcontents ; and that nobleman, falling upon Bruce at Methven in Perthshire, threw his army into such disorder as ended in a total defeat (July 22). Obliged to yield to superior fortune, Bruce took shelter, with a few followers, in the Western Isles. Edward, though sick to death, assembled a great army against the Scots, and was preparing to enter the frontiers, when he died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, three miles from Carlisle (July 7, 1307), enjoining with his last breath his son and successor to prosecute the enterprise, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland. He expired in the 69th year of his age, and 35th of his reign, feared and hated by his neighbours, but revered by his own subjects.

The enterprises of this prince, and the projects which he formed, were more advantageous to the solid interests of his kingdom than those of either his ancestors or his successors. However arbitrary he may have shown himself on occasions, he was politic and warlike. He possessed industry, penetration, courage, vigilance, and enterprise ; he was frugal in all expenses that were not necessary ; he knew how to open the public treasures on a proper occasion ; he punished criminals with severity ; he was gracious and affable to his servants and courtiers ; and being of a majestic figure, expert in all military exercises, and in the main well-proportioned in his limbs, notwithstanding the great length and the smallness of his legs, which earned him the byname of *Longshanks*, he was as well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance as to gain the approbation of men of sense by his more solid virtues. But the chief advantage which England reaped, and still continues to reap, from his reign, was the correction, extension, amendment, and establishment of the laws. For this he is justly styled the English Justinian.

EDWARD II.

§ 12. EDWARD II., b. 1284; r. 1307-1327.—This prince, called Edward of Caernarvon, from the place of his birth, was 23 years of age when he was proclaimed at Carlisle on the day after his father's death (July 8, 1307). Bruce, though his army had been dispersed, remained no longer inactive. Before the death of the late king, he had sallied from his retreat, and, collecting his followers, had appeared in the field and obtained at Loudon Hill some advantage over Aymer de Valence, who commanded the English forces. Edward, after receiving the homage of the Scots at Dumfries, returned and disbanded his army (1311). The nobles soon perceived that the authority of the crown had fallen into feebler hands ; and

Edward's passion for favourites gave them a pretext for complaint. Piers Gaveston was the orphan son of Sir Arnold de Gaveston, a Gascon knight, who had been unjustly put to death in the English cause, and was by queen Eleanor placed in the household of the prince of Wales. He soon insinuated himself into the affections of his master by his agreeable behaviour. Banished by Edward I., he was now recalled by the young king, who, not content with conferring on him possessions which had sufficed as an appanage for a prince of the blood, daily loaded him with new honours and riches; married him to his own niece, sister of the earl of Gloucester; granted him the earldom of Cornwall; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity but as it enabled him to exalt to the highest splendour this object of his affections. When he went to France, to do homage for the duchy of Guienne and espouse the princess Isabella, to whom he had long been affianced, Edward left Gaveston guardian of the realm (December 26, 1307).

§ 13. It would be useless to detail all the events which at last drew down his tragical fate upon the favourite. Thomas, earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood, headed a confederacy of the nobles against Gaveston, and in a parliament held at Westminster, required the king to banish him (1308). Edward, however, converted even this circumstance into a mark of favour by making Gaveston lieutenant of Ireland, and shortly after contrived to procure his recall (1309). In 1311, the barons, besides extorting some measures of reform, obliged the king to assent to certain ordinances made in parliament for the removal of evil counsellors (October 10). Piers Gaveston himself was for ever banished the king's dominions, under pain of excommunication, if he ventured to return. These ordinances were drawn up by twenty-one bishops and barons, who were called "Lords Ordainers." But Edward, removing to York, freed himself from the immediate terror of the barons' power, invited back Gaveston, who had retired into Flanders, and declaring his banishment to be illegal, and, contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom, openly reinstated him in his former credit and authority (January 18, 1312). Highly provoked at this conduct, the earl of Lancaster, Guy, earl of Warwick, Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and others, renewed with double zeal their former confederacies against the king. Lancaster suddenly raised an army and marched to York, but found the king already removed to Newcastle. He hastened thither in pursuit of him; and Edward had just time to escape to Tynemouth, where he embarked, and sailed with Gaveston to Scarborough. He left his

favourite in that fortress; but Gaveston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison, was obliged to capitulate, and surrendered himself a prisoner on condition that his life should be spared. The condition was violated, and Gaveston was executed on Blacklow Hill, near Warwick, in the presence of Lancaster and other nobles (June 19, 1312).

§ 14. When the terror of the English power was thus abated by the unpopularity of the king, even the least sanguine of the Scots joined in efforts for recovering their independence; and by 1313 the whole kingdom acknowledged the authority of Robert Bruce, who invested the last English fortress at Stirling. Roused by the danger, Edward assembled a large army of men; but some of the nobles refused to serve, and others treacherously fled from the field. The army collected by Bruce was posted at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, and gained a great and decisive victory, thus securing the independence of Scotland, and fixing Bruce on the throne of that kingdom (June 24, 1314). Edward himself, betrayed by Aymer de Valence and others of the nobles, narrowly escaped by taking shelter in Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him by the earl of March, and thence he fled to Berwick.

§ 15. Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who was suspected of holding treasonable correspondence with the Scots, now took advantage of the king's humiliation; and in a parliament held at York (September 9, 1314), Edward was compelled to dismiss his chancellor, treasurer, and other officers, whose places were immediately filled by the earl's nominees. Hugh le Despenser, the elder, and Walter Langton were removed from the council, and the king was reduced to an allowance of £10 a day. Lancaster did not fail to use these advantages to the prejudice of his unfortunate relative. In 1316 he entirely wrested the reins from Edward's hands, by procuring himself to be appointed president of the council, without whose consent nothing should be done. But the power thus gained he failed to exercise either with ability or with moderation. The son of Hugh le Despenser had succeeded Gaveston in the king's affections. The father was a nobleman venerable from his years, respected for his wisdom, valour, and integrity, and well fitted, by his talents and experience, to have supplied the defects both of the king and of his favourite. But no sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenser than Lancaster and most of the great barons made him the object of their animosity, and formed plans for his ruin. They entered London with their troops (1321); and giving in to the parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spencers, they procured a sentence of forfeiture and perpetual exile against these ministers. In the following year Edward hastened with his

army to the marches of Wales, the chief seat of the power of his enemies, whom he found totally unprepared for resistance. Lancaster, to prevent the total ruin of his party, summoned together his vassals and retainers; declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been suspected; and, being joined by the earl of Hereford, advanced with all his forces against the king. Disappointed in this design, he fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being joined by his Scottish allies; was pursued by the king; and, with a diminished army, marched to Boroughbridge, where he was defeated and captured. Lancaster, as guilty of open rebellion, was condemned by a military court, and led to execution. He was clothed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade without a bridle, conducted to an eminence near Pontefract, one of his own castles, and there beheaded (1322).

§ 16. After one more fruitless attempt against Scotland, Edward retreated with dishonour—for he had traitors among his officers—and found it necessary to terminate hostilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years (1323). This truce was the more seasonable for England, because the nation was at that juncture threatened with hostilities from France. Charles the Fair had some grounds of complaint against the king's ministers in Guienne: and queen Isabella, who had obtained permission to go over to Paris and endeavour to adjust the difference with her brother, proposed that Edward should resign the dominion of Guienne to his eldest son, now thirteen years of age; that the prince should come to Paris, and do the homage which every vassal owed to his superior lord. Spenser was charmed with the contrivance. Young Edward was sent to Paris: and the danger covered by this fatal snare was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council (September 12, 1325).

The queen, on her arrival in France, had found there a great number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenser soon begat a secret friendship and correspondence between them and Isabella. Among the rest was Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, a potent baron in the Welsh marches, who was easily admitted to her court. Though he was married, the graces of his person and address advanced him quickly in Isabella's affections. He became her confidant and counsellor, and engaged her to sacrifice at last to her passion all the sentiments of honour and of fidelity to her husband. Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her; a correspondence was secretly carried on with the malcontent party in England; and when Edward, informed of those alarming circumstances, required her speedily to return with the prince, she publicly replied that she would never set

foot in the kingdom till the Spencers were for ever removed from his presence and councils—a declaration which procured her great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treasonable designs. She affianced young Edward to Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault; and having, by the assistance of this prince, enlisted in her service nearly 3000 men, she set sail from the harbour of Dort, and landed safely and without opposition on the coast of Suffolk (September 24, 1326). She was joined by Edward's half-brothers, the earls of Kent and Norfolk, and many of the nobility. Edward, deserted by his subjects, repaired to the west; but being disappointed in his expectations of loyalty in those parts, he passed over to Wales, where, he flattered himself, his name was still popular, and the natives less infected with the general contagion. The elder Spenser, created earl of Winchester, was left governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied against him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies and executed. The king took shipping for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himself in Wales. He was soon discovered, was put under the custody of the earl of Lancaster, and was confined in the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Spenser also fell into the hands of his enemies, and was hanged after a hasty trial. The queen then summoned a parliament at Westminster in the king's name (January 7, 1327). A charge was drawn up against the king, for whom no voice was raised. His deposition was voted: the young Edward, already declared regent by his party, was placed on the throne: and a deputation was sent to his father at Kenilworth, to require his resignation, which menaces and terror soon extorted from him (January 20). The unfortunate monarch, hurried from place to place, was at length transferred to Berkeley castle, and the impatient Mortimer secretly sent orders to his keepers to despatch him. It was believed that these ruffians threw him on a bed, held him down violently with a table which they flung over him, thrust into his intestines a red-hot iron, which they inserted through a horn; and though all outward marks of violence upon his person were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonizing king filled the castle while his bowels were consuming (September 21). Thus miserably perished, in the 44th year of his age, Edward II., than whom it is not easy to imagine a prince less fitted for governing the fierce and turbulent barons subjected to his authority.



Noble of Edward III.

Obv.: EDWARD . DEI . GRA . ANGL' Z FRANC' . D . HVB'G. The king standing in a ship (type supposed to relate to the naval victory gained by him over the French fleet off Sluys, A.D. 1340). Rev.: IHC : TRANSIENS : PER : MEDIVM : ILLORVM : IBAT + Cross fleury, with a fleur-de-lis at each point, and a lion passant under a crown in each quarter.

CHAPTER X.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET—*Continued.*

EDWARD III. AND RICHARD II. A.D. 1327–1399.

§ 1. Accession of EDWARD III. War with Scotland. § 2. Fall of Mortimer. § 3. King's administration. War with Scotland. Battle of Halidon Hill. § 4. Edward's claim to the crown of France. § 5. War with France. § 6. Domestic disturbances. Affairs of Brittany. § 7. Renewal of the French war. Battle of Crécy. § 8. Captivity of the king of Scots. Calais taken. § 9. Institution of the Garter. War in Guienne and battle of Poitiers. § 10. Captivity of king John. Invasion of France and peace of Bretigny. § 11. The Black Prince in Castile. Rupture with France. § 12. Death of the prince of Wales. Death and character of the king. § 13. Miscellaneous transactions of this reign. § 14. Accession of RICHARD II. Insurrection. § 15. Discontents of the nobility. Expulsion or execution of the king's ministers. § 16. Counter-revolution. Ascendancy of the duke of Lancaster. Cabals and murder of the duke of Gloucester. § 17. Death of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Revolt of his son Henry. Deposition, death, and character of the king. § 18. The Wickliffites.

1. EDWARD III., b. 1312; r. 1327–1377.—After the late king's deposition a council of regency was appointed by parliament, and Henry, earl of Lancaster, became guardian and protector of the king's person, who, at the age of 14, ascended the throne with the title of Edward III.* The real power, however, was in the hands of Isabella and Mortimer.

The Scots seized the opportunity offered by the unsettled state of the English government to make incursions into the northern counties. The young king, who had put himself at the head of

* His reign is dated from the 25th of January, 1327. He was crowned January 29.

an army in order to repress them, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. Douglas, having surveyed exactly the situation of the English camp, entered it secretly in the night-time, with a body of 200 determined soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with the view of killing or carrying off the king in the midst of his army. But some of Edward's attendants, awaking in that critical moment, resisted ; his chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives to his safety ; and the king himself, after a valorous defence, escaped in the dark. Douglas, having lost the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a hasty retreat. Soon after, the Scottish army decamped in the dead of night ; and having thus got the start of the English, returned without further loss into their own country. This inglorious campaign was followed by a disgraceful peace. As the claim of sovereignty by England, more than any other cause, had tended to inflame the animosities between the two nations, Mortimer, besides stipulating for a marriage between Joan, sister of Edward, and David, the son and heir of Robert Bruce, consented to resign absolutely all claim of supremacy over Scotland, and to acknowledge Robert as an independent sovereign. The regalia were restored ; many Scottish prisoners were released, the Scots agreeing to pay the sum of 30,000 marks in three years. This treaty was ratified by parliament (May 4, 1328).

§ 2. But the fall of Mortimer was now approaching. Having persuaded the earl of Kent that his brother, king Edward, was still alive and detained in some secret prison in England, he induced the unsuspecting earl to enter into a conspiracy for his restoration, and then caused him to be condemned on the charge by parliament, and executed (March 21, 1330). The earl of Lancaster was greatly alarmed, and feeling that he must himself be the next victim, he did his best to turn the young king against Mortimer. But Mortimer blindly persisted in his high-handed dealings ; he was bent on sweeping from his path all who stood in the way of his ambition. He had, in 1328, been created earl of March, and he affected a state and dignity equal, if not superior, to the royal power. He became formidable to every one ; and all parties, forgetting past animosities, agreed in detesting him. It was impossible that this could long escape the observation of a prince endowed with so much spirit and judgment as young Edward. He communicated to several nobles his intentions of humbling Mortimer ; and the castle of Nottingham was chosen for the scene of their enterprise. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortress : the king also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants ; and as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked

every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland, the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction the king's associates were admitted through a subterranean passage, which had formerly been contrived for a secret outlet from the castle, but was now buried in rubbish. Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's (October 19). In a parliament summoned at Westminster, Mortimer was arraigned on certain charges, assumed to be notorious; was condemned unheard, and hanged on a gibbet at Tyburn (November 29, 1330). The queen was confined to her own house at Castle Rising; and though the king paid her a visit of ceremony once or twice a year, she was never reinstated in any credit or authority. She died in 1357.

§ 3. Edward, having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself with industry and judgment to redress all those grievances which had proceeded either from want of an authority in the crown, or from the late abuses of it. During the convulsions of the last reign, murder and theft had multiplied enormously, and malefactors were openly protected by the great barons, who made use of them against their enemies. Gangs of robbers had become so numerous as to require the king's own presence to disperse them; and in executing this salutary office he exerted both courage and industry. For the next three or four years his attention was engaged with the affairs of Scotland. Robert Bruce, who had recovered the independence of his country, died (November 24, 1331) soon after the last treaty of peace with England, leaving David, his son, a young child, under the guardianship of Randolph, earl of Moray, the companion of all his victories. Great discontent had been excited among many of the English nobility by Bruce's non-performance of that article of the treaty by which they were to be restored to their estates in Scotland. Under the influence of these feelings they resolved on setting up Edward, the son of John Balliol, then residing in Normandy, as a pretender to the Scottish crown. Edward secretly encouraged Balliol, and countenanced the nobles who were disposed to join in the attempt. The arms of Balliol were attended with surprising success; he was crowned at Scone (1332); and David, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife, Joan, sister to Edward. But Balliol's imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he was attacked on a sudden near Annan by the Scots, enraged at his ceding the town of Berwick to Edward (November 23, 1332), was put to the rout, and chased into England in a miserable condition.

Thus he lost his kingdom in a few months by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it (December 12, 1332).

While Balliol enjoyed his short-lived and precarious royalty, he had offered to acknowledge Edward's claim of sovereignty, and to espouse the princess Joan, if the pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Edward willingly accepted the offer, and prepared to reinstate him in possession of the crown, for which the inroads of the Scots into the northern counties after the battle of Annan seemed to offer a reasonable pretext. At the head of a powerful army he advanced to lay siege to Berwick. Douglas was defeated and slain at Halidon Hill, a little north of that city. Berwick was surrendered (1333). Balliol was acknowledged king by a parliament held at Edinburgh (1334). The superiority of England was again recognized, and many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward. To complete the misfortunes of that nation, Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland were ceded by the new king and declared to be for ever annexed to the English monarchy. But the Scots were still far from being subdued. In 1335, and again in the following year, Edward was obliged to proceed thither with an army; and as a war was now likely to break out between France and England, the Scots had reason to expect a great diversion of that force which had so long oppressed and overwhelmed them. Edward Balliol fled to England, and spent most of his nominal eight years' reign at Edward's court. David II. was recalled from exile in 1341, though still to a precarious throne.

§ 4. Upon the death of Charles IV. in 1328 without male issue, Philip of Valois, the cousin of Charles, succeeded as Philip VI., for by the Salic law all females were excluded from the crown. Edward III. claimed it as next male heir to Charles; for, though Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of reigning, he maintained that a right to the crown could be transmitted through her to her male offspring. This point had never yet been determined by the Salic law. He had acquiesced at first in the succession of Philip, and had twice done homage in general terms for the province of Guienne (1329, 1331). It was not until 1337 that he renewed his claim, irritated by the aid afforded by Philip to the Scots.

§ 5. Before preparing for invasion, Edward resolved to strengthen himself by various continental alliances. He assumed the title of king of France (October 7, 1337), and crossing over to Flanders, where he had obtained the adhesion of Jacob van Artevelde, the leader of the popular party among the Flemings (1338), he

invaded France in the following year, but was obliged to retreat without effecting anything, owing to the apathy of his allies. He was, however, a prince of too much spirit to be daunted by the first difficulties of an enterprise, and was anxious to retrieve his honour by more successful efforts. Philip, apprized by the preparations which were making both in England and the Low Countries that he must expect another invasion, fitted out a great fleet of 400 vessels, manned with 40,000 men, and stationed them off Sluys, with a view of intercepting the king in his passage to the continent. The English navy was much inferior in number, consisting only of 240 sail; but, either by the superior abilities of Edward or the greater dexterity of his seamen, they gained the wind of the enemy, and had the sun on their backs, and with these advantages the action began. It lasted nine hours, and ended in favour of Edward. 230 French ships were taken; 30,000 Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals. On the side of the English, two ships only were sunk and 4000 men slain (June 24, 1340). Elated with his success, Edward advanced to the frontiers of France at the head of 100,000 men, consisting chiefly of foreigners. He laid siege to Tournay, but after a few weeks agreed to a truce, as his money was exhausted, and he suddenly returned to England.

§ 6. It required all his genius and energy to extricate himself from his multiplied embarrassments. His claims on France and Scotland had engaged him in an implacable war with these two kingdoms: he had lost most of his foreign alliances by the irregularity of his payments: he was deeply involved in debts, and, except his naval victory, none of his military operations had been attended with glory. The animosity between him and the clergy, especially John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom, as chancellor,* the charge of collecting the taxes had been chiefly intrusted, was open and declared. The people were discontented; and, what was more dangerous, the nobles, taking advantage of the king's present necessities, were determined to retrench his power, and, by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire a greater amount of independence and authority. In 1340 parliament framed an act to confirm the Great Charter anew, and oblige all the chief officers of the law and of the state to swear to the regular observance of it. They petitioned that no peer should be punished but by the award of his peers in parliament; that the

* He and his brother Robert, bishop of Chichester, held the office of chancellor, alternately, for more than ten years. Robert, failing to furnish such liberal supplies as Edward required in his wars, was suddenly displaced, December, 1340, and was succeeded by sir Robert Bourchier, the first layman who held that post.

chief officers of state should be appointed by the king in parliament, and should answer before parliament to any accusation brought against them. In return for these important concessions, the commons offered the king a grant of 30,000 sacks of wool. His wants were so urgent, so clamorous the demands of his foreign allies, that Edward was obliged to accept the supply on these conditions, with one important modification—that the choice of his ministers should rest only with himself, “he taking therein the assent of his council.” He ratified this statute in full parliament; but he subsequently issued an edict to abrogate and annul it, and two years after it was formally repealed.

A disputed claim to the succession of Brittany on the death of duke John III. opened the way to fresh attempts upon France. The dukedom was claimed by the count de Montfort, John's brother by a second marriage, and by Charles de Blois, nephew of the French king, who had married John's niece. Montfort offered to do homage to Edward as king of France for the duchy of Brittany, and proposed a strict alliance in support of their mutual pretensions. Edward saw immediately the advantages attending this treaty: Montfort, an active and valiant prince, closely united to him by interest, seemed likely to be far more serviceable than his allies on the side of Germany and the Low Countries. Montfort, however, fell into the hands of his enemies; was conducted as a prisoner to Paris; but Joan of Flanders, his countess, after she had put Brittany in a good posture of defence, shut herself up in Hennebon till she was relieved by the succours which Edward sent her under the command of sir Walter Manny, one of his ablest and bravest captains (1342).

§ 7. In the autumn of the same year Edward undertook her defence in person; and as the last truce with France had expired, the war, in which the English and French had hitherto embarked as allies to the competitors for Brittany, was now conducted in the name and under the standard of the two monarchs. This war, like the preceding, was carried on without any important advantages on either side till 1346, when the English gained the first of the two great victories which have shed such a lustre upon Edward's reign. The king had intended to sail to Guienne, which was threatened by a formidable French army, and embarked at Southampton, on board a fleet of nearly 1000 sail of all dimensions, carrying with him, besides all the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, Edward, prince of Wales, now 16 years of age. The winds long proved contrary; and the king, in despair of arriving in time in Guienne, at last ordered his fleet to sail to Normandy, and safely disembarked his army at La Hogue (July, 1346).

This army, which, during the course of the ensuing campaign, was crowned with the most splendid success, consisted of 4000 men-at-arms, 10,000 archers, 12,000 Welsh infantry, and 6000 Irish. After laying waste Normandy and advancing almost to the gates of Paris, Edward retreated towards Flanders, pursued by the French king. He had crossed the river Somme below Abbeville, when he was overtaken by the French army, consisting of 100,000 men. He took up his position near the village of CRECY, about 15 miles east of Abbeville, and determined there to await the enemy. On the morning of August 26th, he drew up his army in three lines on a gentle ascent; the first was commanded by the prince of Wales, with whom were the earls of Warwick and Oxford; the earls of Arundel and Northampton commanded the second; and the king himself took his station on a hill with the third. In the front of each division stood the archers, arranged in the form of a portcullis. Having gained a day's respite, Edward had taken the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French, who might assail him from that quarter; and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which was also secured by an intrenchment. Besides the resources which he found in his own genius and presence of mind, he is said to have employed a new invention against the enemy. He placed in the front some pieces of artillery. Artillery was at this time known in France as well as in England; but Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, which he regarded as a useless encumbrance. After a long day's march from Abbeville, the French army, imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and disordered, in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of 15,000 Genoese crossbow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi; the second was led by the count of Alençon, brother to the king; Philip himself was at the head of the third. John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, and his son, the king of the Romans, were also present, with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. Numerous as was the army, the prudence of one man counterbalanced all this force and splendour.

A heavy storm, accompanied with incessant thunder and lightning, had further discomfited the French and wetted the strings of the Genoese bowmen. At five the weather cleared and the Genoese commenced the attack. Steady and immovable, the English received their fire; then, after a brief interval, they drew their bows from their cases, and poured in such a shower of arrows that the Genoese fell back in disorder. The second line, under

the count of Alençon, now advanced to the attack, supported by numerous cavalry; but as they approached through the narrow lanes flanked by the English archers, many fell and the rest were thrown into confusion. As the prince of Wales was now hard pressed by superior numbers, the second division advanced to his support. When the king was entreated by those about him to bring up his reserves to his son's assistance, "No," said he; "let the boy win his spurs, and gain the glory of the day!" Inspired with this proof of the king's confidence, the English fought with renewed courage. After a stout resistance the French cavalry gave way: the count of Alençon was slain: the Welsh and Irish infantry rushed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen. No quarter was given that day by the victors. The king of France advanced in vain with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother. His horse was killed under him, and he was obliged to quit the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, till darkness put an end to the pursuit. On his return to the camp, Edward, embracing the prince of Wales, exclaimed, "Sweet son! God give you good perseverance: you are my son; for most loyally have you acquitted yourself this day, and you are worthy of a crown." From this time the young prince became the terror of the French, by whom he was called the Black Prince, from the colour of the armour which he wore on that day (August 26, 1346).

The dead found on the field included, on the French side, 11 princes, 80 bannerets, 1200 knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men-at-arms, besides about 30,000 of inferior rank. Among the slain was the old and blind king of Bohemia. Resolved to hazard his person and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. It is said that the crest of the king of Bohemia was three ostrich feathers, and his motto *Ich dien*, "I serve," which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory.* The loss sustained by the English was very slight. But, notwithstanding his success, the king was compelled by his necessities to limit his ambition for the present to the conquest of Calais; to which, after an interval of a few days employed in interring the slain, he now turned his attention.

§ 8. While Edward was engaged in this siege, which employed

* There is, however, great doubt respecting the truth of this tradition. See the essay by sir H. Nicolas in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii.

him exactly eleven months, other events occurred to the honour of the English arms. The earl of Lancaster, who commanded the English forces in Guienne, carried his incursions to the banks of the Vienne, and devastated all the southern provinces of France. The Scots, under the command of their king, David Bruce, entered Northumberland, but were completely defeated by Henry Percy, at Neville's Cross, near Durham (October 17, 1346): the king himself was taken prisoner, with many of the nobility. David Bruce was detained in captivity till 1357, when he was liberated for a ransom of 100,000 marks.

The town of Calais was defended with remarkable vigilance, constancy, and bravery by the townsmen, during a siege of unusual length; and Philip had in vain attempted to relieve it. At length, after enduring all the extremities of famine, John de Vienne, the governor, surrendered unconditionally (August 3, 1347). The story runs that Edward had at first resolved to put all the garrison to death; but that at last he only insisted that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, to be disposed of as he thought proper; that they should come to his camp, carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and on these conditions he promised to spare the lives of the remainder. When this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, the inhabitants were struck with consternation. Whilst they found themselves incapable of coming to any resolution in so cruel and distressful a situation, at last one of the principal citizens, called Eustace de St. Pierre, stepped forth and declared himself willing to suffer death for the safety of his friends and companions; another, animated by his example, made a like generous offer; a third and a fourth presented themselves to the same fate; and the whole number was soon completed. These six heroic burgesses appeared before Edward in the guise of malefactors, laid at his feet the keys of their city, and were ordered to be led out to execution. But the entreaties of his queen saved Edward's memory from this infamy: she threw herself on her knees before him, and, with tears in her eyes, begged the lives of these citizens. Having obtained her request, she carried them into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and, after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety. The king, after taking possession of Calais, removed the inhabitants to make way for English settlers; a policy which probably preserved so long to his successors the possession of that important fortress. He made it the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not the sole, commodities of the kingdom for which there was at that time any considerable demand in foreign markets.

Through the mediation of the pope's legates Edward concluded a truce with France; but, even during this cessation of arms, an attempt was made to deprive him of Calais (1349). Being informed of the plot, he proceeded to Calais with 1000 men; and, when the French presented themselves to take possession of the town at the time appointed, Edward sallied forth to oppose them. On this occasion he fought hand to hand with a French knight, named Ribaumont. Twice he was struck to the ground, but contrived at last to make his assailant prisoner. The French officers who had fallen into the hands of the English were admitted to sup with the prince of Wales and the English nobility. After supper the king entered the apartment, and conversed familiarly with his prisoners. On Ribaumont he openly bestowed the highest encomiums, admitting that he himself had never been in greater danger. In token of his valour he presented Ribaumont with a chaplet of pearls which he wore about his own head (January, 1349).

§ 9. About the same time the king is said to have instituted the order of the Garter (1349). Its true origin is lost in obscurity. According to the popular account, the countess of Salisbury dropped her garter at a court-ball, when the king picked it up; and observing some of the courtiers to smile, he exclaimed, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, "Evil be to him that evil thinks;" and gave these words as the motto of the order.

A grievous calamity, called the *Black Death*, more than the pacific disposition of the two princes, served to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England. It invaded England as well as the rest of Europe; and is computed to have swept away nearly a third of the inhabitants in every country attacked by it (1349). Above 50,000 souls are said to have perished by it in London alone. Public business was interrupted; war was discontinued until 1355; the legal and judicial work ceased for two years, and the population, especially among the lower orders, was greatly diminished. To augment the evils of the time, cattle and sheep were attacked by it, and the resources of the country were severely impaired. This malady first appeared in the north of Asia, spread over all that country, and made its progress from one end of Europe to the other, depopulating every state through which it passed. As labourers decreased in England, the survivors endeavoured by combination to obtain higher wages. The attempt was resented by parliament, and an act was passed, called the Statute of Labourers (23 Edw. III. c. 1), which ordered them to work at their accustomed wages. As they were little inclined to do this, another statute was passed a few years after,

making them liable to severe punishments if any wilfully remained idle, or quitted their usual place of abode.

The truce between the two kingdoms expired in 1355. John the Good had succeeded to the French throne on the death of his father, Philip of Valois, in 1350; and France was distracted by the factions excited by Charles the Bad, king of Navarre. John had succeeded in seizing and imprisoning that prince; but the cause of Charles was maintained by his brother Philip, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who had recourse to the protection of England. Well pleased that the factions in France had at length gained him partisans in that kingdom, which his pretensions to the crown had never been able to secure, Edward purposed to attack his enemy both on the side of Guienne, under the command of the prince of Wales, and on that of Calais, in his own person. Young Edward arrived in the Garonne with his army, overran Languedoc, advanced even as far as Narbonne, laying every place waste around him. After an incursion of six weeks, he returned with a vast booty and many prisoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters. His father's incursion from Calais was of the same nature, and attended with the same results. After plundering and ravaging the open country, he retired to Calais, and thence to England, in order to defend his kingdom against a threatened invasion of the Scots, who, taking advantage of the king's absence, had surprised Berwick. But on the approach of Edward they abandoned that place, which was not tenable while the castle was in the hands of the English; and, retiring northwards, gave the enemy full liberty of burning and destroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh.

In the following year (1356) the prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the preceding campaign, took the field from Bordeaux with an army of 12,000 men, of which not a third were English; and with this small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. His intentions were to march into Normandy, and to join his forces with those of the duke of Lancaster and the partisans of the king of Navarre; but, finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every pass carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne. The king of France, provoked at this insult, and entertaining hopes of punishing the young prince for his temerity, collected an army of 60,000 men, and advanced by hasty marches to intercept his enemy. They came within sight at Maupertuis, near Poitiers; and Edward, sensible that his retreat had now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and with all the prudence of the oldest and most experienced commander. His

army was now reduced to 8000 men. At the instance of the cardinal of Périgord, John lost a day in negotiation; and thus the prince of Wales had leisure during the night to strengthen, by new intrenchments, the post he had before so judiciously chosen. He contrived an ambush of 300 men-at-arms and as many archers, whom he ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himself. The king of France also arranged his forces in three divisions. The English position was surrounded by hedges, and was only accessible by a single road, flanked on each side by English archers. As the enemy advanced they were shot down with impunity, and the passage was choked by their dead. Discouraged by the unequal combat, and diminished in number, they arrived at the end of the lane, and were met on the open ground by the prince of Wales himself, at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception. Discomfited and overthrown, and recoiling upon their own men, the whole army was thrown into disorder. In that critical moment the men placed in ambush appeared and attacked the dauphin's line in flank. The duke of Orleans and several other French commanders fled with their divisions. King John made the utmost efforts to retrieve by his valour what his imprudence had betrayed, till, spent with fatigue and overwhelmed by numbers, he and his son yielded themselves prisoners. Young Edward received the captive king with every mark of regard and sympathy; administered comfort to him amidst his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior Providence which controls all the efforts of human force and prudence. The behaviour of John showed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment; his present abject fortune never made him forget for a moment that he was a king. More touched by Edward's generosity than by his own calamities, he confessed that, notwithstanding his defeat and captivity, his honour was still unimpaired; and that, if he yielded the victory, it was at least gained by a prince of consummate valour and humanity. Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the prisoner, and he himself served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue. He stood at the king's back during the meal; constantly refused to take a place at table; and declared that, being a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royalty to assume such freedom. The battle of Poitiers was fought September 19, 1356.

The prince of Wales conducted his prisoner to Bordeaux ; and, not being provided with forces numerous enough to enable him to push his present advantages further, he concluded a truce for two years with France, and returned with his royal prisoner to England. On entering London (May 24, 1357), he was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks and stations. The prisoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror, in meaner attire, rode by his side on a black palfrey. In this situation, more glorious than all the insolent parade of a Roman triumph, he passed through the streets of London, and presented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with as much courtesy as if he had been a neighbouring potentate that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly visit.

§ 10. During the captivity of John, France was thrown into the greatest confusion by domestic factions and disorders. Edward employed himself during a conjuncture so inviting chiefly in negotiations with his prisoner; and John had the weakness to sign terms of peace, by which he agreed to restore all the provinces formerly possessed by Henry II. and his two sons, and to annex them for ever to England, without any obligation of homage or fealty on the part of the English monarch. But the dauphin and the states of France rejected a treaty so dishonourable and pernicious to the kingdom; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having now, by subsidies and frugality, collected sufficient treasure, prepared for a new invasion of France (1359). It is unnecessary to follow the ravages of the English during this invasion, in which many of the French provinces were laid waste with fire and sword, and the people suffered incredible miseries. At length Charles, the dauphin, agreed to the terms of a peace, which was concluded at Bretigny near Chartres, on the following conditions :—It was stipulated that John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay for his ransom three millions of crowns of gold (about 1,500,000 pounds of our present money) in successive instalments; that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; and should receive in exchange the full sovereignty of the duchy of Aquitaine, including, besides Guienne and Gascony, the provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, l'Agénais, Périgord, the Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, and also Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France; that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal

on their behalf; that the king of Navarre should be restored to all his honours and possessions; that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, and John his connections with the Scots; that the disputes concerning the succession of Brittany between the family of Blois and Montfort should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings; and that forty hostages, to be agreed on, should be sent to England as security for the execution of all these conditions (May 8, 1360). In consequence of this arrangement the king of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward also soon after repaired; and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty. John was sent to Boulogne; the king accompanied him a mile on his journey, and the two monarchs parted with many professions of mutual amity. As he was unable to fulfil the terms of his release, John returned to England (January 4, 1364). He soon after sickened and died in the palace of the Savoy, where he had resided during his captivity. He was succeeded on the throne by his son Charles V., a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified, by his consummate prudence and experience, to repair the losses which France had sustained from the errors of his two predecessors.

§ 11. In 1367 the Black Prince marched into Castile, in order to restore Peter, surnamed the Cruel, who had been driven from the throne of that country by his natural brother, Henry, count of Transtamare, with the assistance of the French. Henry was defeated by the English prince at Navarrete, and was chased off the field, with the loss of above 20,000 men. Peter, who well merited the infamous epithet which he bore, proposed to murder all his prisoners in cold blood, but was restrained from this barbarity by the remonstrances of the prince of Wales. All Castile now submitted to the victor; Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward finished this perilous enterprise with his usual glory. But the barbarities exercised by Peter over his helpless subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived all the animosity of the Castilians against him. On the return of Henry of Transtamare, with reinforcements levied in France, the tyrant was again dethroned and was taken prisoner. His brother, in resentment of his cruelties, slew him with his own hand; and was placed on the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. The duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, who espoused in second marriage the eldest daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of sovereignty, and, by claiming the succession, increased the animosity of the new king of Castile against England.

But the prejudice which the affairs of prince Edward received from this splendid though imprudent expedition ended not with it.

He had involved himself so much in debt by his preparations and the pay of his troops, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose a new tax on his French subjects. This incident revived the animosity of the Gascons, who were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government. Charles, in open breach of the treaty of Bretigny, sent to the prince of Wales a summons to appear in his court at Paris, and there to justify his conduct towards his vassals. The prince replied that he would come to Paris, but it should be at the head of 60,000 men. War between the French and English broke out afresh ; and Edward, by advice of parliament, resumed the title of king of France (1369). The French invaded the southern provinces ; and by means of their good conduct, the favourable disposition of the people, and the ardour of the French nobility, made every day considerable progress. The state of the prince of Wales's health did not permit him to mount on horseback, or exert his usual activity ; and when he was obliged by his increasing infirmities to throw up the command and return to his native country, the affairs of the English in the south of France seemed to be menaced with total ruin. Shortly before his departure the prince perpetrated an act of cruelty which is a foul blot upon his fair name. Having retaken the town of Limoges, which had revolted from him, he ordered the inhabitants to be butchered in cold blood (1370). This was his last conquest ; for sickness forced him to return home. After his departure the king endeavoured to send succours into Gascony ; but all his attempts, both by sea and land, proved unsuccessful. He was at last obliged, from the necessity of his affairs, to conclude a truce with the enemy (1374), after most of his ancient possessions in France had been ravished from him, except Bordeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests except Calais.

§ 12. The decline of the king's life was thus exposed to many mortifications, and corresponded not to the splendid scenes which had filled the beginning and the middle of it. This prince, who during the vigour of his age had been chiefly occupied in the pursuits of war and ambition, being now a widower, attached himself to one Alice Perrers, who acquired a great ascendancy over him. Her influence caused such general disgust, that, in order to satisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court. In its measures for redress, this parliament, called *The Good*, was supported by the Black Prince, in opposition to his brother, John of Gaunt, whose influence was distasteful to the commons. The prince of Wales died soon after of a lingering illness, in the 46th year of his age (June 8, 1376). His valour

and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit. His generosity, affability, and moderation gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a lustre, not only on the rude age in which he lived, but on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. He was buried in the cathedral of Canterbury, where his tomb is still shown. The king survived him about a year, and expired in the 65th year of his age and the 51st of his reign (June 21, 1377), and was buried at Westminster. The ascendancy which the English then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, made them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his administration, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blest with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. Edward gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness: he made them feel his power without their daring or even being inclined to murmur at it. His affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion. His valour and conduct made them successful in most of their enterprises; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed domestic disturbances. This was the chief benefit which resulted from Edward's victories and conquests.

§ 13. Conquerors, though often the bane of human kind, proved in those times the most indulgent of sovereigns. They stood most in need of supplies from their people; and, not being able to compel them by force to submit to the exactions required, they were obliged to make compensation by equitable laws and popular concessions. So was it with Edward III. He took no steps of any moment without consulting his parliament and obtaining their approbation, which he afterwards pleaded as a reason for their supporting his measures. Parliament, therefore, rose into greater consideration during his reign, and acquired more regular authority, than in any former time.*

One of the most popular laws enacted by any prince was the Statute of Treasons, which limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads, namely, conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies (25 Edward III. st. 5, c. 2, 1351).

The magnificent castle of Windsor was rebuilt by Edward III., and his method of conducting the work may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of engaging work-

* See Notes and Illustrations to chap. xii.: On the Parliament.

men by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been raising an army.

It is easy to imagine that a prince of so much sense and spirit as Edward would be no slave to the court of Rome. Though the tribute granted by John was paid during some years of Edward's minority, it was afterwards withheld; and when the pope, in 1366, threatened to cite him to the court of Rome for default of payment, he laid the matter before his parliament. That assembly unanimously declared that king John could not, without consent of the nation, subject his kingdom to a foreign power; and that they were therefore determined to support their sovereign against this unjust pretension.* During this reign the Statute of Provisors was enacted,† rendering it penal to procure any presentations to benefices from the court of Rome, and securing the rights of the patrons, which had been extremely encroached on by the pope. By a subsequent statute, every person was outlawed who carried any cause by appeal to the court of Rome.‡

Edward III. may be called the father of English commerce. He encouraged Flemish weavers to settle in his kingdom, and protected them against the violence of the English weavers. Wool was the chief article of export and source of revenue. The merchants carried on an extensive trade with the Baltic. The use of the French language in pleadings was abolished in this reign. The first document in English dates as far back as 1258.

Edward had seven sons and five daughters by his queen Philippa of Hainault. His sons were: 1. Edward, the Black Prince, who married Joan, daughter of his great-uncle the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was first married to Sir Thomas Holland, by whom she had children. By the prince of Wales she had a son Richard, who survived his father. 2. William of Hatfield, who died young. 3. Lionel, duke of Clarence, who left one daughter, Philippa, married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. 4. John of Gaunt, so called from being born at Ghent, duke of Lancaster, and father of Henry IV. 5. Edmund, duke of York. 6. William of Windsor, who died young. 7. Thomas, duke of Gloucester.

RICHARD II.

§ 14. RICHARD II., *b.* 1366; *r.* 1377-1399.—As Richard II., son of the Black Prince, upon whom the crown devolved by the death

* This was not the real reason. The tribute had been paid by Henry III. and Edward I.; but when the papacy was transferred to Avignon in 1309, the tribute | was withheld, as the pope had now become a mere instrument in the hands of France.

† 25 Edward III., st. 6, 1351.

‡ 27 Edward III., c. 1, 1353.

of his grandfather, was born at Bordeaux in 1366, and was now only 11 years of age, the House of Commons, who were now beginning to take a greater share in public affairs, petitioned the king and lords, to elect a council of eight to assist "the king's other state officers" in the affairs of the realm (October 13). Richard was crowned at Westminster July 16.

The first three or four years of Richard's reign passed without anything memorable, except some fruitless expeditions against France, which increased the unpopularity of John of Gaunt. The expenses of these armaments, and the usual want of economy attending a minority, exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the parliament, besides making some alterations in the councils, to impose a new tax of three groats, or twelve pence, on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and though they ordained that, in levying the tax, "the richer should aid the poorer sort," the injustice of taxing all alike provoked resistance (1380). The first disorder commenced among the bondmen of Essex, and Kent soon followed the example. The tax-gatherers came to the house of a tiler in Dartford, and demanded payment for his daughter, whom her mother asserted to be below the age assigned by the statute. When one of these fellows laid hold of the maid in a scandalous manner, her father, hearing her cries, rushed in from his work, and knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The bystanders applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. They immediately flew to arms: the whole neighbourhood joined them: the flame spread in an instant over the surrounding district; and, faster than the news could fly, the people rose in Kent, Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and Somersethires. The disorder soon grew beyond control. Under leaders who assumed such names as Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Jack Carter, and Jack Miller, they committed everywhere the most outrageous violence on such of the gentry or nobility as had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

The insurgents, amounting to 100,000 men, assembled on Blackheath (June 12, 1381), under their leaders Tyler and Straw, and were addressed by an itinerant priest, John Ball, whom they had released from Maidstone gaol. Ball took for his text a rude couplet—

“ Whanne Adam dalfe and Eve span,
Who was thanne a gentil man?”

The rioters broke into the city, and burned the Savoy, the palace of the duke of Lancaster, who was then in Scotland; cut off the heads of the gentlemen who fell into their hands, and pillaged the

merchants' warehouses. Another body quartered themselves at Mile End; and, as they insisted on laying their grievances before the king, Richard, who was then in the Tower, consented to hear their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of bondage, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villeinage. These requests were complied with; charters to that purpose were granted them, and they immediately dispersed and returned to their several homes.

During the king's absence another body of the rebels, breaking into the Tower, had murdered Simon Sudbury, the archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and other persons of distinction, and continued their ravages in the city. The next morning, as the king was passing along Smith-field, very slenderly guarded, he was met by Wat Tyler, at the head of his followers, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire until he gave the signal for an attack, drew near the royal retinue. He behaved himself with so much insolence that Sir William Walworth, then mayor of London, thinking the king was in danger, drew his sword and struck the rebel a violent blow, which brought him to the ground, where he was instantly despatched by the king's attendants. Seeing their leader fall, the mutineers prepared themselves for revenge; and the whole company, with the king himself, would undoubtedly have perished on the spot, had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. Putting spurs to his horse, he rode into the very midst of the enraged multitude; and accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, as they bent their bows, "What, my friends," he exclaimed, "would you shoot your king? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? Follow me; I am your king: I will be your leader." Overawed by his presence, the populace implicitly obeyed, and were led by him into the fields, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city. Being joined there by Sir Robert Knollys, and a body of veteran soldiers, who had been secretly drawn together, Richard strictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters and committing an indiscriminate slaughter, and then peaceably dismissed them with the same charters which had been granted to their fellows. Soon after the nobility and gentry, in obedience to the royal summons, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers, and Richard took the field at the head of an army 40,000 strong. The rebels had no alternative but to submit. Many were executed by the judges on circuit and among them John Ball.

The charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by parliament. But it afterwards passed an act of general pardon, refusing, however, the king's proposal to enfranchise the serfs.*

§ 15. A youth of sixteen (for that was the king's age), who had discovered so much courage and address, raised great expectations. But with advancing years these hopes vanished, and his want of judgment appeared in all his enterprises. In 1385 he undertook a fruitless expedition against the Scots; advanced as far as the Forth and burned Edinburgh, ravaging all the towns and villages in his way. But provisions failing him, or suspicious of the designs of his uncle, the duke of Lancaster, he returned to England.

The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, and more particularly by Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, was extremely disagreeable to the king, and he attempted to shake off the yoke. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man of noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of dissolute manners, had acquired great influence over him. This partiality on the king's part excited the jealousy of the princes of the blood and of the chief nobility; and the usual complaints against the insolence of favourites were loudly echoed and greedily received in every part of the kingdom. Their first attempts were directed against the king's ministers; and Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, a man of low descent, lately created earl of Suffolk, was, at the instigation of the duke of Gloucester, impeached and condemned by the parliament on questionable charges of corruption (1386). Gloucester and his associates next attacked the king himself, and framed a commission, ratified by parliament, by which a council of regency was formed with Gloucester at the head, thus virtually depriving the king of all authority. In the following year, Richard, having obtained from five of the judges, whom he met at Nottingham, a declaration that the commission was derogatory to the royal prerogative, attempted to recover his power; but Gloucester and his adherents took up arms, defeated the forces of the king, and executed or banished his adherents. Robert de Vere, whom the king had created duke of Ireland, fled into the Low Countries, where he died in exile a few years after (1387).

§ 16. In little more than a twelvemonth, however, Richard, now in his twenty-third year, declared in council that, as he had now at-

* The causes and motives of this insurrection, which spread dismay through all ranks of society, have never been precisely ascertained. It is probable that they varied according to place and circumstances. Originating, perhaps, in a desire for emancipation and social equality,

as the passions of the insurgents rose with success, nothing less than the subversion of the laws and of the whole fabric of society would have contented them. It is the only instance in our history of a war of class against class.

tained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority, he was resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty (1389). Gloucester and some others were removed from the council; and no opposition was made to these changes. Soon after the duke of Lancaster, who had returned from Spain, having resigned his pretensions to the crown of Castile for a large sum of money, effected a reconciliation between Gloucester and the king.

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard had inherited with his crown, were conducted with little vigour, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalry between the two martial families of Percy and Douglas than from any national quarrel. A fierce battle or skirmish, celebrated in the ballad of "Chevy Chase," was fought at Otterbourne (August 19, 1388), in which young Percy, surnamed *Hotspur*, from his impetuous valour, was taken prisoner, and Douglas was slain. Insurrections among the Irish obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience (1394); and he recovered, in some degree, by this enterprise, his character for courage. At last the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace, but found it so difficult to adjust their opposite pretensions, that they were content to establish a truce of twenty-five years. To render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who had lost his first consort, Anne of Bohemia, was married to Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., a child of eight years old (1396). Meanwhile the duke of Gloucester, taking advantage of this incident, and appealing to the national antipathy against France, resumed his plots and cabals. The king, seeing that either his own or his uncle's ruin was inevitable, caused Gloucester, then living at Pleshy, to be suddenly arrested. He was hurried on board a ship lying in the river, and conveyed to Calais. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time. Thus suddenly deprived of their leaders, the malcontents were overawed; and the concurrence of the dukes of Lancaster and York in those measures deprived them of all possibility of resistance. A parliament was summoned; charges were preferred against Gloucester and his associates; the commission which usurped the royal authority was annulled, and it was declared treasonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any similar body (1397). The commons then preferred an impeachment against Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, brother to the earl of Arundel, and accused him for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attainting the king's ministers. The primate pleaded guilty,

was banished the kingdom, and his temporalities were sequestered. His brother was condemned and executed (September 21). The life of the earl of Warwick was spared for his submissive behaviour, but he was doomed to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man. A warrant was next issued to bring over the duke of Gloucester from Calais, to take his trial; but the earl marshal returned for answer that the duke had died. In the subsequent reign attestations were produced in parliament that he had been suffocated by his keepers. But these proceedings in Henry's reign may have been nothing more than an unworthy attempt to blacken the memory of Richard. Gloucester left a written acknowledgment of his guilt; and his acts when in power give him little claim to compassion.

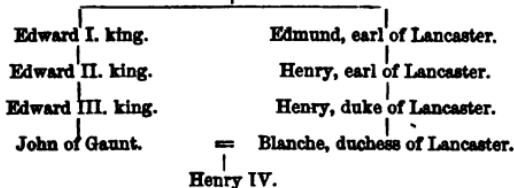
§ 17. In 1398 Henry, duke of Hereford, son and heir of the duke of Lancaster, had accused Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, of slandering the king. On Norfolk's denial, it was agreed that the dispute should be settled by wager of battle. The parties met at Coventry, but the combat was suspended by Richard. To preserve the peace of the realm, he banished Hereford for ten years and Norfolk for life. Next year Lancaster died, and Richard seized his estates. Hereford had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the people; he was connected with the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendship; and as the injury done him by the king might in its consequences affect them all, he easily brought them, by a sense of common interest, to take part in his resentment. Embarking from Brittany with a retinue of sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury and the young earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate, he landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire (July 4, 1399). He was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent nobles in England. The malcontents in all quarters flew to arms: London discovered the strongest symptoms of its disposition to mutiny: and Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to the number of 60,000 combatants. Richard was at this time absent in Ireland, to avenge the death of the lord lieutenant, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, his cousin. His uncle, the duke of York, whom he had left guardian of the realm, assembled an army of 40,000 men, but found them entirely destitute of zeal and attachment to the royal cause, and soon after openly joined the duke of Lancaster, who was now entirely master of the kingdom. Receiving intelligence of this invasion and insurrection, Richard hastened from Ireland and landed at Milford Haven; but being deserted by his troops, was taken prisoner and carried first to Flint castle and afterwards to London (September 1). The duke of Lancaster now extended his designs

to the crown itself. He first extorted a resignation from Richard (September 29); but as he knew that this deed would plainly appear the result of force and fear, he resolved, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent, to have him solemnly deposed in parliament for tyranny and misconduct. A charge, consisting of 33 articles, was accordingly drawn up against Richard and presented to parliament. He was accused of infringing the constitution, alienating the crown estates, levying excessive purveyance, extorting loans, granting protections from lawsuits, &c. The charge was not canvassed, nor examined, nor disputed in either house, and appears to have been received at once with almost universal approbation. Richard was deposed by the suffrages of both houses (September 30); and, the throne being now vacant, the duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having crossed himself on the forehead and on the breast, and called upon the name of Christ, he pronounced these words:—"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and the crown, with all the members and appurtenances; als (as) I that am descended by right line of the blood, coming fro the good lord king Henry III.; and through that right that God of His grace hath sent me, with help of kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone by default of governance and undoing of the good laws."

In order to understand this speech, it must be observed that a story was circulated among the Lancastrians, that Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III., was really the elder brother of Edward I.; but that, by reason of the deformity of his person, he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed on the nation in his stead. As the present duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmund by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy.* It is therefore insinuated in Henry's speech, but was too gross an absurdity to be

* He was descended from Henry III. both by father and mother.

Henry III.



The rightful heir to the crown, on the deposition of Richard, was Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, then a child of seven years old, son of Roger Mortimer, who had lately been killed in Ireland, and great-grandson of Lionel, duke of Clarence. See Genealogical Table H.

openly avowed either by him or by the parliament. The case is the same with regard to his right of conquest: he was a subject who rebelled against his sovereign; he entered the kingdom with a retinue of no more than sixty persons; he could not therefore be the conqueror of England; and this right is accordingly insinuated, not avowed. But no objection was taken to his claims, and by the voice of lords and commons he was placed on the throne (September 30).* Six days after, Henry called together, without any new election, the same members; and this assembly he denominated a new parliament. They were employed in the usual task of reversing every deed of the opposite party. On the motion of the earl of Northumberland, the House of Peers resolved unanimously that Richard should be imprisoned under a secure guard in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with his friends or partisans. It was easy to foresee that he would not long remain alive in the hands of his enemies. The manner of his death is unknown, for the common account that he was murdered at Pontefract by sir Piers Exton rests on no sufficient evidence. A corpse said to be his, but so muffled as not to be recognized, was exhibited at St. Paul's in March, 1400, and buried at King's Langley, but removed by Henry V. to Westminster. Richard left no posterity. His government was arbitrary, especially during the latter years of his reign. He had, however, succeeded to a kingdom greatly disorganized by the wars of his grandfather. As a child he had to rule over nobles demoralized by long periods of military licence, and he lost the support of the clergy from his indifference to Lollardy. The charges against him must be received with caution, for a parliament surrounded by a victorious army can never be regarded as a just or independent tribunal, or its judgments of any value in determining the verdict of history.

§ 18. In this and the previous reign JOHN WICKLIFFE, a secular priest educated at Oxford, began his attack on the papal claims and the friars who supported them. He made many disciples among men of all ranks and stations. Denying the supremacy of the popes, he held that kings were their superiors, and that it was lawful to appeal from a spiritual to a secular tribunal. His cardinal principle, that dominion is founded in grace, was taken up by his followers, the Lollards, and carried by them to practical conclusions which Wickliffe himself perhaps never anticipated. His greatest service to the Reformation was his translation of the Bible. He was patronized by John of Gaunt, who made no scruple, as well as lord Percy, the marshal, to appear openly in court with him, when

* This scene was acted in the new hall of the palace of Westminster, the present "Westminster Hall," which Richard had just rebuilt.

he was cited before the tribunal of the bishop of London (1377). Wickliffe died of a palsy, December 31, 1384, at his rectory at Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester. GEOFFREY CHAUCER, who flourished at this period, may be regarded as the father of English poetry.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. DEATH OF RICHARD II.

Many contemporary English authorities agree that Richard died of starvation, after a few months' imprisonment. The French chroniclers assert that he was violently murdered. On the other hand, three or four Scotch writers, of whom the principal are Winton and Bower, assert that he escaped from Pontefract to the Western Isles of Scotland; that he was there recognized and carried to the court of Robert III.; and that he lived under that monarch and the regent Albany till 1419, when he died at Stirling.

The truth of the Scotch account has been maintained at great length by Mr. Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. App.), who has been followed by Mr. Williams (Preface to the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart II.*, published by the English Historical Society, 1846) and a few others. That a person pretending to be Richard was maintained in Scotland is sufficiently clear; but an examination of the evidence has failed to convince us that he was the deposed English monarch.

B. STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE.

This statute, passed 16 Ric. II. c. 5 (A.D. 1393), was enacted to check the exorbitant power claimed and exercised by the pope in England. It was so called from the words of the writ used for the citation of a party who had broken the statute: *Præmuniſtre facias A. B.*, "Cause A. B. to be forewarned" that he appear before us to answer the contempt with which he stands charged. Hence the word *præmuniſtre* denominated,

in common speech, not only the writ, but also the offence of maintaining the papal power. "The original meaning," says Blackstone, "of the offence which we call *præmuniſtre*, is introducing a foreign power into this land, and creating an *imperium in imperio*, by paying that obedience to papal process which constitutionally belonged to the king alone, long before the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII." Though the statute of 16 Ric. II. c. 5, is usually called the Statute of *Præmuniſtre*, several others of a similar kind had been enacted in preceding reigns. The 25 Edw. III. was the first statute made against papal *provisions*, the name applied to a previous nomination to certain benefices, of which the pope claimed the patronage, by a kind of anticipation, before they became actually void, though afterwards indiscriminately applied to any kind of patronage exerted or usurped by the pope. In the reign of Edward III. more stringent laws were enacted against papal provisions. By 16 Ric. II., c. 5. "whoever procures at Rome, or elsewhere, any translations, processses, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things, which touch the king, against him, his crown, and realm, and all persons aiding and assisting therein, shall be put out of the king's protection, their lands and goods forfeited to the king's use, and they shall be attached by their bodies to answer to the king and his council: or process of *præmuniſtre facias* shall be made out against them, as in any other cases of provisors." In the reign of Henry VIII. the penalties of *præmuniſtre* were extended still further against the authority of the pope.



Henry IV. and his queen, Joan of Navarre. From their monument at Canterbury.

CHAPTER XI. THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

HENRY IV., HENRY V., HENRY VI. A.D. 1399-1461.

- § 1. Accession of HENRY IV. Insurrections. Persecution of the Lollards.
- § 2. Rebellions of the earl of Northumberland. Battle of Shrewsbury.
- § 3. Foreign transactions. Captivity of prince James of Scotland. Death and character of the king.
- § 4. Accession of HENRY V. His reformation.
- § 5. Proceedings against the Lollards. Sir John Oldcastle.
- § 6. Invasion of France. Battle of Agincourt.
- § 7. New invasion of France. Conquest of Normandy. Treaty of Troyes and marriage of Henry with Katharine of France.
- § 8. Further conquests of Henry V. His death and character.
- § 9. HENRY VI. Settlement of the government. French affairs.
- § 10. Siege of Orleans. Joan of Arc.
- § 11. Charles VII. crowned at Rheims.
- § 12. Henry VI. crowned at Paris.
- § 13. Capture, trial, and execution of the Maid of Orleans.
- § 14. Treaty of Arras. Death of Bedford.
- § 15. Marriage of Henry VI. Death of the duke of Gloucester. The English expelled from France.
- § 16. Claim of the duke of York to the crown. His powerful connections.
- § 17. Unpopularity of the government. Suffolk accused and executed.
- § 18. Insurrection of Jack Cade. Disaffection of the commons.
- § 19. Rising of the duke of York.
- § 20. First battle of St. Albans.
- § 21. Civil war. Decision of the House of Peers.
- § 22. Battle of Wakefield and death of the duke of York.
- § 23. Second battle of St. Albans.
- EDWARD IV. saluted king by the citizens of London.

§ 1. HENRY IV., b. 1366; r. 1399-1413.—This monarch was born at Bolingbroke in Lincolnshire, in 1366, and was of the same age

as his deposed cousin. He was declared king, as we have already seen, September 30, 1399. The rightful heir to the crown, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, was a child of only seven years old, and was detained by Henry in honourable custody at Windsor castle.

Henry was hardly seated upon the throne before several nobles favourable to Richard's cause formed a conspiracy for seizing the king's person. The plot was betrayed to the king by the earl of Rutland, the elder son of the duke of York (January 4, 1400), and the conspirators perished either in the field or on the scaffold. This unsuccessful attempt hastened the death of Richard, who was shortly afterwards murdered, as narrated in the preceding chapter.

Henry, finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, resolved, by every expedient, to pay court to the clergy. Till now there were no penal laws against heresy; but he engaged the parliament to pass a law that, when any heretic who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrates. This weapon did not long remain unemployed; and William Sautré, a secular priest in London, was burned for his erroneous opinions (1401).

The revolution in England proved likewise the occasion of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendower (properly *Glyndwr*), who was descended from the ancient princes of that country,* and part of whose estates had been seized by lord Grey of Ruthyn, recovered possession by the sword. He ravaged the English marches, captured Radnor, and beheaded the garrison. In an engagement with the English forces he took prisoner sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the earl of March, the true heir to the crown. The English were defeated with great loss, and their bodies brutally mutilated by the Welsh women. As Henry dreaded and hated all the family of March, he allowed Mortimer to remain in captivity; and though that nobleman was nearly allied to the Percys, to whose assistance he himself had owed his crown, he refused permission to the earl of Northumberland to treat with Glendower for his ransom. To this disgust another was soon added. The Percys, in repulsing an inroad of the Scots, in 1402, at Homildon Hill, captured earl Douglas and several others of the Scotch nobility. Henry sent Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners,

* He was on his father's side descended from Griffith ap Madoc, the last Welsh owner of the castle of Dinas Bran, and by his mother was the sixth in descent from Llewellyn. He had a large estate in Merionethshire, and married Margaret

the daughter of sir David Hanmer, a judge of the King's Bench in the time of Richard II. He was in attendance on Richard when captured at Flint, and being thus compromised, the neighbouring marchers attempted to seize his lands.

which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. The Percys were farther discontented by the withholding from them of large sums due to them as warders of the marches.

§ 2. The factious disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, and the impatient spirit of his son Harry Percy, surnamed *Hotspur*, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman. Tempted by revenge, and the precarious title of Henry, to overturn that throne he had so greatly contributed to establish, he entered into a correspondence with Glendower. He gave Douglas his liberty, and made an alliance with him; roused up all his partisans to arms; and such was the authority at that time of the feudal lords, that the same men, whom a few years before he had conducted against Richard, now followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When war was ready to break out, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, about 12,000 in number, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendower. The king, however, who had an army of about the same force on foot, attacked him before the junction could be effected (July 23, 1403). No battle was ever more hotly contested. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight; his gallant son, afterwards so renowned for his military achievements, here performed his novitiate in arms, and even when he had received a wound in the face, he could not be induced to quit the field. Percy fell by an unknown hand, and the royalists prevailed. The loss was great on both sides. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners. The former was beheaded at Shrewsbury (July 25); the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and merit. The earl of Northumberland was condemned to imprisonment, but a few months after obtained a full pardon, and his attainder was reversed.

Two years afterwards Northumberland again rose in rebellion, was joined by Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, and Richard Scrope, archbishop of York. The archbishop and Nottingham were entrapped into a conference by Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, were seized, condemned, and executed. This was the first instance in English history in which an archbishop perished by the hands of the executioner (1405). Northumberland escaped into Scotland; but in 1408, having entered the northern counties in hopes of raising the people, he was defeated and slain at Bramham Moor by sir Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire. The only domestic enemy now remaining was Glendower, over whom

the prince of Wales obtained some advantages; but the Welsh leader continued the struggle for some years after Henry's death.

§ 3. The remaining transactions of this reign are not of much interest. In 1405 fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbour who, by his situation, was most able to disturb his government. Robert III., king of Scots, was a prince of slender capacity; and Scotland, at that time, was little fitted for enduring sovereigns of that character. The duke of Albany, his brother, governor of Scotland, on whom Robert relied with unsuspecting confidence, secretly aspired to the throne. As David, duke of Rothsay, was a dissolute prince, Albany had him thrown into prison at Falkland, in Fife, where he perished by hunger. James alone, the younger brother of David, now stood between the duke's ambition and the throne; and Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board ship, with a view of sending him to France, and intrusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, the vessel was taken by the English; James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London; and though there was at that time a truce between the two kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. Worn out by this last misfortune, Robert soon after died, leaving the government in the hands of Albany (1406). But though Henry, by detaining James in the English court, had shown himself deficient in generosity, he made amends by giving that prince an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in some measure, the barbarous manners of his native country.

Throughout this reign an unfriendly feeling prevailed between England and France; but the civil disturbances in both nations prevented it from breaking out into serious hostilities. The cause of the murdered Richard was warmly espoused by the French court, but their zeal evaporated in menaces. Soon after his accession, Henry, at the demand of Charles, had restored Isabella, the widow of the late king, but had retained her dowry on the pretence of setting it off against the unpaid ransom of the French king John.

The king's health declined some months before his death. He was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his senses; and, though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He expired at Westminster (March 20, 1413), in the 46th year of his age, and the 13th of his reign. The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he attained the crown, and by which he had been so much aided in the acquisition of it, was entirely lost before the end of his reign; and he governed his people more by terror than by affection, more by his own policy than by their sense of duty or allegiance. His prudence and vigilance

in maintaining his power were admirable; his courage, both military and political, without blemish; and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and rendered his usurpation rather salutary than otherwise to his people. The augmentation of the power of the commons during this reign was chiefly shown by the punishment which they awarded to sheriffs for making false returns, by the increased freedom of debate, and by the control which they exercised over the supplies.

Henry was twice married: by his first wife, Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four sons, Henry, his successor in the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester; two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark. His second wife, Joan, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter of the king of Navarre, and widow of the duke of Brittany, brought him no issue.

HENRY V.

§ 4. HENRY V., *b.* 1388; *r.* 1413–1422, was born at Monmouth, August 9. His father, naturally exposed to many jealousies, had entertained suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son; and, during the latter years of his life, he had excluded the prince from all share of public business. He was even displeased to see him at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him a renown which his father thought might prove dangerous to his own authority. Shut out from more serious occupations, the active spirit of young Henry found employment, during his father's life, in pleasure and amusement away from the court. Though the stories told of his riots and excesses are doubtless exaggerated, he inherited his father's love of popularity and courted the good opinions of those beneath him. On one occasion it is said that a riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for felony, and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, and afford him countenance and protection. He demanded the liberation of the prisoner, and would have proceeded to violence. But Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the laws which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison. The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to the sentence, make reparation for his error, and check his impetuous nature in the midst of its extravagant career. The memory of this incident, and of others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of

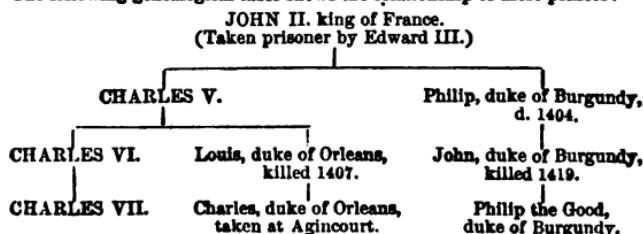
the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation, and increased the joy which the death of so unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occasioned. At his accession he dismissed his former companions, and retained in office the wise ministers of his father, with the exception of the archbishop, Thomas Arundel, and the chief justice.*

§ 5. One party only in the nation seemed likely to trouble him. The Lollards were every day increasing, and the attitude now assumed by them appeared dangerous to the church, and formidable to the civil authority. The head of this sect was sir John Oldcastle (lord Cobham by marriage), a nobleman who had distinguished himself on many occasions, and acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. Presuming on his supposed influence with the king, the Lollards fixed seditious papers on the doors of the London churches, intimating that 100,000 men were ready to rise and espouse their principles. Roused by the danger, the clergy assembled in convocation, and called upon the archbishop to take proceedings against Oldcastle for heresy. After Henry had vainly endeavoured to induce Oldcastle to submit, he was brought before the primate, was condemned for heresy, and delivered to the secular arm (1413). Before the day appointed for his execution, he contrived to escape from the Tower, and assembled his followers in St. Giles's Fields, with the design of seizing the king. They were defeated by Henry's vigilance; many of the Lollards were seized, and some executed (1414). Cobham, who saved himself by flight, was not brought to justice till four years after, when, in execution of the double sentence pronounced against him, he was hanged in chains as a traitor and burnt as a heretic (1418).

§ 6. The disorders into which France was plunged through the lunacy of its monarch, Charles VI., and the consequent struggle for the regency between his brother the duke of Orleans, and his cousin the duke of Burgundy,† had resulted in open warfare. Impelled by the vigour of youth and the ardour of ambition, Henry

* Sir William Hankford was appointed in his place on March 29, 1413, only nine days after Henry's accession.

† The following genealogical table shows the relationship of these princes:—



determined to carry war into that distracted kingdom (April, 1415), but was detained for a while by a conspiracy to place the earl of March upon the throne. The chief conspirators, Richard earl of Cambridge, younger son of the late duke of York,* Henry lord Scrope, and sir Thomas Grey, were arrested, summarily condemned, and executed in August. The earl of March, who had revealed the plot, was taken into favour. Trusting to the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, who had been secretly soliciting the alliance of England, Henry put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of 6000 men at arms and 24,000 foot, mostly archers. Harfleur was obliged to capitulate after a siege of five weeks (September 22); but his troops were so wasted by fatigue and dysentery that Henry was advised to return to England. He dismissed his transports, and determined on marching by land to Calais, although a French army of 14,000 men at arms and 40,000 foot was by this time assembled in Normandy. Not to discourage his troops, now reduced to 6000, by the appearance of flight, or expose them to the hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys till he reached the Somme, and, after encountering many difficulties and hardships, was dexterous or fortunate enough to surprise a passage near St. Quentin, which had not been sufficiently guarded, and thus transport his army in safety. He then bent his march northwards to Calais, exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves in his way, intending to intercept his retreat. Passing the small river of Ternois, at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted that it was impossible for him to decline an engagement. The enemy was four times more numerous than the English; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crécy, and that of the Black Prince at Poitiers, and he observed the same manœuvres. Seeing the French army cooped up between two woods, where their narrow front and crowded masses neutralized the advantage of numbers, Henry patiently expected the attack of the enemy (October 25, 1415). The French archers on horseback and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed palisadoes in their front to break the charge of the enemy, and safely plied them from behind that defence with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The clay soil, moistened by rain which had lately fallen, proved

* Edmund Langley, son of Edward III., died in 1402.

another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry: the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks: the narrow compass in which they were pent up hindered them from recovering any order: the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay. Perceiving his advantage, Henry led an impetuous charge of his men at arms, and ordered the archers to advance and gall the enemy's flanks. These falling on the foe, who, in their present posture, were incapable either of flight or of defence, hewed them in pieces without resistance, and covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. No battle was ever more fatal to France for the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the latter were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. The killed are computed, on the whole, to have amounted to 10,000 men; and Henry was master of 14,000 prisoners. The loss of the English was very small, being only about 1600, including, however, the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk. Henry, not being in a condition to pursue his victory, carried his prisoners to Calais, and thence to England, and concluded a truce with the enemy.

§ 7. During this brief interruption of hostilities, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war; and the several parties became every day more exasperated against each other. In consequence of the capture of the duke of Orleans at Agincourt, the count of Armagnac, his father-in-law, became the head of his party (hence called the Armagnacs), and was created constable of France. The duke of Burgundy, who had aspired to this dignity, formed an alliance with the English, promising to do homage to Henry. His power was strengthened by the accession of Isabella, the queen, who had formerly been his enemy, but had now quarrelled with the Armagnacs. The dauphin sided with the latter; and open war broke out between the two factions. Whilst the country was ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry landed again at Touques on the Seine, with 25,000 men (August 1, 1417), and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. He made himself master of Caen; Bayeux and Falaise submitted to him; and having subdued all lower Normandy, and received a reinforcement of 15,000 men from England, he formed the siege of Rouen, which he took after an obstinate defence (January 19, 1419). Henry still continued to negotiate, and had almost arranged advantageous terms, when John, duke of Burgundy, secretly made a treaty with the dauphin. The two princes agreed to share the royal authority during king Charles's lifetime, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies. This alliance seemed at first to cut off from Henry all hopes of further success, but

the treacherous assassination of the duke of Burgundy soon afterwards (1419) by the partisans of the dauphin opened the way to a new and favourable arrangement. Philip, count of Charolais, now duke of Burgundy, thought himself bound by every tie of honour and of duty to revenge the murder of his father, and to prosecute the assassins to the utmost extremity. In December a league was concluded at Arras between him and Henry, by which the duke of Burgundy, without stipulating anything for himself except the prosecution of his father's murderers and the marriage of Henry's brother, the duke of Bedford, with his sister, was willing to sacrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition. He agreed to every demand made by that monarch. To finish this astonishing treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger, Henry went to Troyes, accompanied by his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester; and was there met by the duke of Burgundy (1420). The imbecility into which Charles had fallen made him incapable of seeing anything but through the eyes of those who attended him; as they on their part saw everything through the medium of their passions. A treaty, already concerted among the parties, was immediately drawn, signed, and ratified (May 21). By the principal articles Henry was to espouse the princess Katharine, daughter of the king; Charles, during his lifetime, was to enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; and Henry was to be regent, and to succeed to the throne on the death of Charles, to the exclusion of the dauphin. In a few days after, Henry espoused the princess Katharine, but next day led his army again into the field. Sens, Montereau, and Melun yielded to his arms. In December he made his triumphal entry into Paris. He there assembled the estates of France, and procured from them a ratification of the treaty of Troyes. But soon after, the necessity of providing supplies, both of men and money, obliged him to return to England (1421). He appointed his uncle, Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter,* as regent during his absence (June 10).

§ 8. After the coronation of Katharine, Henry, raising fresh forces, returned to Paris in May, with 24,000 archers and 4000 horsemen, and was received with great joy. During his absence a body of 7000 Scots, fearing to see France fall into the power of their ancient enemy, had proceeded to the assistance of the dauphin, and had defeated and killed the duke of Clarence at Peaugé. But the presence of Henry soon restored all. The dauphin was chased beyond the Loire, and almost totally abandoned the northern provinces; he was even pursued into the south by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruc-

* For the Beaufort family, see the Genealogical Tables.

tion. To crown Henry's good fortune, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings no less pompous at Paris than at London. But his glory was suddenly extinguished with his life. He was attacked by pleurisy, and, finding himself unable to rejoin his army, was carried to Vincennes, near Paris, where he expired, exclaiming in the midst of his suffering, "My portion is with the Lord Jesus." He died August 31, 1422, in the 35th year of his age and the 10th of his reign. He left the regency of France to his next surviving brother, John, duke of Bedford; that of England to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick. He was buried in the Confessor's chapel, at Westminster.

This prince possessed many eminent virtues; and if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unstained by any considerable blemish. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field. The boldness of his enterprises was no less remarkable than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. He was an accomplished musician, and fond of the learning in which he had been trained at Queen's College, Oxford, under his uncle, bishop Beaufort. His stature was somewhat above the middle size, his countenance beautiful, his limbs slender, but full of vigour.

Katharine of France, Henry's widow, married soon after his death a Welsh gentleman, Owen Tudor, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the eldest was created earl of Richmond, and was father of Henry VII.; and the second was earl of Pembroke.

HENRY VI.

§ 9. HENRY VI., *b.* 1421; *r.* 1422-1461, was born at Windsor, December 6, and was scarcely nine months old when he succeeded his father. The duke of Gloucester claimed the regency under the will of the late king, but his claim was resisted by the Great Council; and when parliament assembled, the lords, setting aside the late king's will, appointed Gloucester protector, with limited authority, and entrusted the substantial powers of government to a committee of lords and commons. The regency of France fell to the duke of Bedford, with the consent of the duke of Burgundy. The person and education of the infant prince was committed to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, his great-uncle, the legitimated son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

The interest of the early part of this reign centres in the affairs of France. Charles VI. expired about two months after the death of his son-in-law Henry. His son, Charles VII., a young prince of a popular character, and rightful heir to the throne, asserted his claim against his infant competitor, but, in the face of such overwhelming power as the English then possessed, such pretensions appeared ridiculous. Bedford, a skilful politician, as well as a good general, strengthened himself by forming an alliance with the duke of Brittany, who had received some disgusts from the French court. To avert the hostility of the Scots, many of whom were serving under Charles VII., Bedford persuaded the English council to form an alliance with James, their prisoner, to release him from his long captivity, and connect him with England by marrying him to a daughter of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, cousin of the young king. The treaty was concluded; a ransom of 40,000*l.* was stipulated; and the king of Scots was restored to the throne of his ancestors (1424).

§ 10. The great victory gained by the duke of Bedford over the French and Scots at Verneuil opened Maine to the English (August 16, 1427). The affairs of Charles grew more desperate than ever; and in 1428 Bedford determined to penetrate into the south of France, which remained in obedience to Charles VII. With this view he invested Orleans, which commanded the passage of the Loire, the key of the southern provinces. The command of the besieging forces was intrusted to the earl of Salisbury, one of the most distinguished generals of the age. Upon his death by a cannon-ball, the siege was continued by William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and had lasted several months, when relief appeared from an unexpected quarter.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a peasant girl, seventeen years of age, called Jeanne or Jeannette d'Arc (in English, Joan of Arc), the daughter of a poor cottager. Unable to read or write, she had seen visions in her youth, and heard angelic voices. Persuaded that she had a mission from Heaven to expel the invaders of her country, she went to Vaucouleurs, procured admission to Baudricourt, the governor, and informed him that she had an order from her Lord to deliver Orleans. Baudricourt paid little regard to her entreaties; but on her frequent returns and repeated importunities, he consented to send her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon. Dressed as a soldier, she started on her journey of 250 miles through a country infested by the English. Admitted into the king's presence, it is pretended that she distinguished him at once from all his courtiers, though they were dressed more magnificently than him-

self. She told him she had been sent by God to assist him, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed. On his expressing doubts of her mission, she revealed to him a secret known only to himself; and she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Katharine of Fierbois, which she minutely described, though she had never seen it. Her requests were at last complied with; she was armed cap-a-pie, mounted on horseback, and shown in martial habiliments to the people. Her dexterity in managing her steed was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission; and she was received with the loudest acclamations by the spectators. Her first exploit was to conduct a convoy of provisions into Orleans; and the English, daunted by a kind of supernatural terror, did not venture to resist (April 29, 1429). The maid entered Orleans mounted on a white charger, arrayed in her military garb, and, displaying her consecrated banner, was received as a deliverer from Heaven.

She now called upon the garrison to remain no longer on the defensive, but attack the redoubts of the enemy surrounding the city. These enterprises succeeded. In one attack Joan was wounded in the neck with an arrow; she retreated a moment behind the assailants, pulled out the arrow with her own hands, had the wound quickly dressed, and hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy. By these successes the English were discouraged, and evacuated the forts on the north. As it seemed dangerous to Suffolk, with such intimidated troops, to remain any longer in the presence of so courageous and victorious an enemy, he raised the siege, and retreated with all the precaution imaginable (May 8).

§ 11. The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promise to Charles; the crowning of him at Rheims was the other; and she now vehemently insisted that he should forthwith set out on that enterprise. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared the most extravagant in the world. But Charles, at the head of only 12,000 men, marched to that town without opposition. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with the holy oil, which all France believed a dove had brought to king Clovis from heaven on the first establishment of the French monarchy (July 17). The Maid of Orleans, as she was now called, stood by his side in complete armour, and displayed her sacred banner, which had so often confounded his fiercest enemies. The people shouted with unfeigned joy at viewing such a complication of wonders. Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more formidable in the eyes of all his subjects. Many

towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood, immediately after the ceremony, submitted to him on the first summons; and the whole nation was disposed to yield him the most zealous proofs of their duty and affection.

Nothing can impress us with a higher idea of the wisdom, address, and resolution of the duke of Bedford, than his ability to maintain himself in so perilous a situation, and to preserve some footing in France, after the defection of so many places, and amidst the universal inclination of the rest to imitate so contagious an example. The small supplies, both of men and money, which he received from England, set the talents of this great man in a still stronger light. It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the bishop of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of 5000 men, which he was conducting into Bohemia on a crusade against the Hussites. He was persuaded to lend these troops to his nephew during the present difficulties; and the regent was thereby enabled to take the field, and oppose the French king, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris, when an accident put into the duke's hands the person that had been the author of all his calamities.

§ 12. In making a sally from Compiègne, the Maid of Orleans was taken prisoner by the Burgundians (May 26, 1430). A complete victory could not have given more joy to the English and their partisans. *Tu Deum* was publicly celebrated at Paris on this auspicious event. The duke of Bedford fancied that he should again recover his former ascendancy in France, and purchased the captive from John of Luxemburg. She was tried and condemned by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery and magic; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm. Joan, who had borne her trial with amazing firmness, was at last subdued. She declared herself willing to recant; she acknowledged that her pretensions to a divine influence were illusive, and promised never to assert them more. Her sentence was then mitigated: she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed on bread and water. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies was not satisfied with this victory. They purposely placed in her apartment a suit of her own armour. On the sight of a dress in which she had acquired so much renown, and which, she once believed, she wore by the particular appointment of Heaven, her former enthusiasm revived. She ventured in her solitude to clothe herself again in the forbidden garments. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation: her fault was interpreted to be no less than a relapse into heresy: no recantation would now suffice, and no

pardon could be granted her.* She was condemned to be burned in the market-place of Rouen; and the infamous sentence was accordingly executed (May 30, 1431).

§ 13. From this period the authority of the English in France, the result of which we shall here anticipate, fell insensibly to decay. The regent endeavoured to revive the declining state of his affairs by bringing over the young king of England and having him crowned and anointed at Paris (December 17, 1431). In 1432 the duchess of Bedford, who was sister to the duke of Burgundy, died; and by the regent's subsequent hasty marriage with Jaqueline of Luxemburg, the last link was severed which had hitherto preserved some appearance of friendship between these princes; an open breach took place, and the duke of Burgundy determined to reconcile himself with the court of France. In 1435 a treaty was concluded at Arras between the duke of Burgundy and Charles VII., and whilst it was in progress the duke of Bedford died at Rouen (September 14th, 1435). The English continued to hold a gradually declining footing in France for some years after that event; but the period offers few interesting or memorable occurrences. Shortly after the regent's death, and before his successor, the duke of York, could arrive, the forces of the French king were admitted into Paris by the citizens. Lord Willoughby, who had retired with the small English garrison into the Bastile, was forced to capitulate on the condition of an honourable retreat (April, 1436). Yet the struggle was still feebly protracted on both sides. In 1444 a truce of twenty-two months was concluded, chiefly through the influence of the bishop of Winchester, now cardinal Beaufort; for the duke of Gloucester still retained the idea of subduing France. It was afterwards prolonged to April, 1450.

§ 14. We now turn to the affairs of England. The death of Bedford was an irreparable loss to the English nation. During his ascendancy some show of agreement had been preserved between the duke of Gloucester and cardinal Beaufort, but after his death they became open enemies. The truce with France had been concluded through the influence of cardinal Beaufort, in opposition to the duke of Gloucester; and each party was now ambitious of choosing a queen for Henry, as it was probable that this circumstance would decide the victory between them. Henry was now in the twenty-third year of his age. Of harmless, inoffensive, simple manners, but of slender capacity, he was fitted, both by the softness of his temper and the weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee

* According to other authorities, her | and replaced by male attire, leaving her dress was taken from her as she slept, | no alternative in the matter.

that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. The duke of Gloucester proposed to marry Henry to a daughter of the count of Armagnac, but had not credit enough to effect his purpose. The cardinal and his friends preferred Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, count of Provence, and nominally duke of Maine and Anjou, as well as titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem. The princess herself was the most accomplished of her age, both in body and mind. She seemed to possess those qualities which would equally enable her to acquire ascendancy over Henry, and supply all his defects and weaknesses. William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had previously negotiated the treaty with France, now made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted (1444); and in order to ingratiate himself with her and her family, he engaged, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle. The marriage took place in April, 1445; Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke, and received the thanks of parliament for his services. The princess fell immediately into close connections with the dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, and Buckingham,* who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester. The king's aversion for his uncle favoured their design, in addition to an intractable temper which alienated Gloucester's friends. In 1423 he had married the heiress of the count of Hainault, whose husband was still alive; grew tired of her, and then took up with a mistress, Eleanor Cobham, whom he afterwards married. She was accused of witchcraft; and it was alleged that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Margery Jourde main of Eye, melted with unhallowed ceremonies before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by like insensible degrees. The charge led to further investigations of her past life. She was charged with using philters to secure the affections of the duke and draw him into a discreditable marriage with herself. She was condemned to walk through the streets of London, on three different days, with a taper in her hand, and was then consigned to perpetual imprisonment (1441). To effect their purpose against the duke, Suffolk and his party caused a parliament to be summoned at Bury St. Edmund's, where they expected that he would lie entirely at their mercy (1447). As soon as Gloucester appeared he was arrested, and a few days after he was found dead in his lodgings; and though his body, which was exposed to public view, bore no marks of outward violence, many believed that he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of

* See the Genealogical Tables.

his enemies. The cardinal himself survived his nephew only a few weeks.*

Suffolk, raised to a dukedom, had become prime minister, and the affairs of the nation were directed by him and Margaret. While the court was divided into parties, French affairs were neglected. The province of Maine was ceded to Charles of Anjou, according to the marriage treaty. After the conclusion of the truce, Charles VII. had employed himself with great judgment in repairing the numberless ills of France; and in 1449 he availed himself of a favourable opportunity to break the truce. He overran Normandy and Guienne without resistance; and by the summer of 1451 the English were completely dispossessed of all they had once held in France, with the exception of Calais. Though no peace or truce was concluded, the war was at an end, and the civil dissensions which ensued in England permitted but one feeble effort more, in 1453, for the recovery of Guienne, in which the veteran Talbot lost his life.

§ 15. Meanwhile the incapacity of Henry, which appeared every day in a fuller light, had encouraged the appearance of a claimant of the crown. All the male line of the house of Mortimer was extinct; but Anne, the sister of the last earl of March, having espoused the earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded in the reign of Henry V., had transmitted her latent but not forgotten claim to her son, Richard, duke of York. This prince, thus descended, by his mother, from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, fourth son of that monarch;† and that claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than those of the duke of York. To valour and abilities, Richard added a prudent conduct and mild disposition. He possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many successions, those of York on the one hand with those of Mortimer on the other; and his marriage with the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility. He was closely allied to the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the son and grandson of Westmoreland, the greatest noblemen in the kingdom. The personal qualities of these two earls, especially of Warwick, enhanced the splendour of their nobility, and increased their influence. Warwick, commonly known afterwards as the *King-maker*, was distinguished

* The popular belief, adopted by Shakespeare, of the cardinal's remorse for his share in Gloucester's death, is now considered to be unfounded. After Henry's marriage and Suffolk's rise, the cardinal

took no part in state affairs. The duke by no means deserved the praises too commonly bestowed upon him.

† See the Genealogical Tables.

for his gallantry in the field, the hospitality of his table, the magnificence and the generosity of his expense, and for the spirit and audacity of his actions. No less than 30,000 persons are said to have daily fed at his board in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England. Soldiers were allured by his munificence, as well as by his bravery, and the people in general bore him a warm affection.

§ 16. Though the English were never willing to grant the supplies necessary for keeping possession of the conquered provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loss of these boasted acquisitions. The voluntary cession of Maine to the queen's uncle made them suspect treachery in the loss of Normandy and Guienne. They considered Margaret as a Frenchwoman and a latent enemy of the kingdom. To augment the unpopularity of the government, the revenues of the crown, which had long been disproportioned to its power and dignity, had been extremely impaired during the minority of Henry. The royal demesnes were dissipated; and at the same time the king was loaded with a debt of 372,000 pounds, a sum so great that parliament could never think of discharging it. This unhappy situation forced the ministers upon many arbitrary measures. The household itself could not be supported without stretching to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of universal robbery upon the people. Suffolk, once become odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the administration, was universally imputed to his tyranny and injustice. The commons sent up to the peers an accusation of high treason against him (1450). The charge was incredible and preposterous. But Henry, seeing no means of saving him from present ruin, banished him the kingdom for five years. On his passage to Flanders, a captain of a vessel was employed by his enemies to intercept him; he was seized near Dover, his head was struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea (May 2nd). No inquiry was made after the actors and accomplices of this atrocious deed.

§ 17. The humours of the people, set afloat by the parliamentary impeachment and by the fall of so great a favourite as Suffolk, broke out into various commotions. The most dangerous was that excited by one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had served in the wars with France, and took the name of John Mortimer. On the first mention of that popular name, the people of Kent, to the number of 20,000, flocked to Cade's standard. Sir Humphrey Stafford, who had opposed him with a small force, was defeated and slain in an action near Sevenoaks; and Cade, advancing with his followers towards London, encamped on Blackheath. Though



elated by his victory, he still maintained the appearance of moderation, and sent to the court a long list of grievances. When the city opened its gates to Cade, he put to death Lord Say and his son-in-law, William Crowmer, sheriff of Kent. He maintained, for some time, order and discipline among his followers. But as they commenced to pillage the houses of unpopular citizens, the authorities, assisted by lord Scales, governor of the Tower, drove them out with great slaughter. Upon receiving offers of a general pardon, many dispersed. On Cade's attempting fresh disturbances, he was pursued out of Kent into Sussex, where he was taken by Alexander Iden. Dying shortly after of his wounds, his head was fixed on London Bridge (1450).

Suffolk was succeeded as minister by Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, who had been governor of Normandy, but his loss of that province made him unpopular. The duke of York, who had recently returned from the government of Ireland, where his popularity long influenced the fortunes of his house, raised an army of 10,000 men, and marched towards London (1452), demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of Somerset. Having suffered himself, however, to be entrapped into a conference, he was seized, but dismissed; and he retired to his seat of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales.

§ 18. The queen's delivery of a son (October 13, 1453), who received the name of Edward, removed all hopes of the peaceable succession of the duke of York. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell at this time into a distemper which rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, destitute of this support, found themselves unable to resist the Yorkists, and were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the Tower, and appointed the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament. That assembly, taking into consideration the state of the kingdom, created him protector during the king's pleasure (1454). As the king recovered his health in the following year, the protectorship of the duke was annulled; Somerset was released from the Tower, and the administration was committed to his hands. The duke of York levied an army, but still without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Albans (May 23, 1455), in which the Yorkists were victorious; among the slain were the duke of Somerset and many other persons of distinction. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness: he was only obliged

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(which he regarded as no hardship) to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival. This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of 30 years, and was signalized by 12 pitched battles.* It opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, cost the lives of many princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The supporters of the house of Lancaster chose a red rose as a party distinction; the Yorkists a white one; and the civil wars were thus known as the *Wars of the Roses*. In 1456 the king was restored to the sovereign authority; and for two or three years both parties seemed reconciled in outward appearance. But when one of the king's retinue insulted one of the earl of Warwick's, the most important partisan of the duke of York, their companions on both sides took part in the quarrel, and a fierce combat ensued. The earl, thinking his life was in danger, fled to his government of Calais; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by arms (1459).

§ 19. A civil war was now fairly kindled. The duke of York assembled his forces at Ludlow, and the earl of Salisbury, marching to join him, defeated the Lancastrians at Bloreheath (September 23). A few days after (October 13), Sir Andrew Trollope went over to the Lancastrians, and the duke's army dispersed. The duke, who had sought refuge in Ireland, was attainted in a parliament at Coventry. In 1460 the Yorkists landed in England, and, marching to Northampton, defeated and captured the king (July 10). Though the duke of York displayed great moderation after this success, he publicly intimated his expectation that he should be raised to the throne. The rival claims were submitted to the decision of the House of Peers, whose sentence was calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties. They declared the title of the duke of York to be certain and indefeasible; but in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without dispute or controversy, during the course of 38 years, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the administration of the government, meanwhile, should remain with the duke of York; and that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke acquiesced in this decision, and Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not oppose it. But queen Margaret, who, after the defeat at Northampton, had fled to Durham and thence to Scotland, had, with the assistance of the northern barons, collected an army 20,000 strong. The duke

* See the list, p. 212, at end of this chapter.

of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of 5000 men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection; but, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself greatly outnumbered by the enemy. He nevertheless hazarded a battle, in which the queen gained a complete victory (December 30). The duke was killed in the action; and when his body was found among the slain, the head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on one of the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it in derision of his title. His second son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of 17, was brought to lord Clifford; and in revenge for his father's death, who had perished in the battle of St. Albans, Clifford is said to have stabbed him in cool blood. The earl of Salisbury was wounded, taken prisoner, and beheaded the next day at Pontefract. The duke of York perished in the 50th year of his age, and left three sons, Edward (afterwards Edward IV.), George (afterwards duke of Clarence), Richard (afterwards duke of Gloucester and king Richard III.), and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

§ 20. The queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She sent the smaller division to the aid of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half-brother to the king, who was raising forces in Wales against Edward, the new duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Edward met them at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, when Pembroke was defeated, with the loss of nearly 4000 men (February 2, 1461): his army was dispersed; he himself escaped by flight; but his father, sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner and immediately beheaded. Margaret compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the earl of Warwick at St. Albans (February 17), when the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party; but she gained little advantage from this victory. Edward advanced upon her from the other side, and, collecting the remains of Warwick's army, was soon in a condition to give her battle with superior forces. Sensible of her danger while she lay between the enemy and the city of London, which favoured the Yorkists, she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north. Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens (February 28), and was proclaimed king by the title of Edward IV. (March 3, 1461).

LIST OF THE BATTLES IN THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

The more decisive battles are distinguished by small capitals.

DATE.	PLACE.	VICTORS.	COMMANDER.
1455. May 23	ST. ALBANS (first) . . .	<i>York</i> . . .	Richard, duke of York. Henry VI. taken prisoner.
1459 Sept. 23	Bloreheath, in Staffordshire	<i>York</i> . . .	Earl of Salisbury. (Fought to join the duke of York at Ludlow.)
Oct. 13	Ludlow . . .	<i>Lancaster</i> . . .	Henry VI. No real battle; York, deserted, disbands his army.
1460. July 10	NORTHAMPTON	<i>York</i>	Warwick and Edward. Henry VI. again taken prisoner.
Dec. 30	WAKEFIELD	<i>Lancaster</i>	Queen Margaret. Death of Richard, duke of York, and his son, the earl of Rutland.
1461. Feb. 2	MORTIMER'S CROSS, in Here- fordshire.	<i>York</i>	Edward, duke of York. Sir Owen Tudor taken and beheaded.
Feb. 17	St. Albans (second), or Bar- nard's Heath.	<i>Lancaster</i>	Queen Margaret. Total but temporary defeat of Warwick.
Feb. 28	Edward enters London, and becomes king as EDWARD IV. (March 3.)		
Mar. 29	TOWTON (near York) . . .	<i>York</i>	Edward IV. Somerset and Margaret (with Henry VI.) defeated.
1464. Apr. 25	Hedgeley Moor, in North- umberland.	<i>York</i>	Lord Montacute, brother of Warwick. Queen Margaret defeated.
May 15	HEXHAM	<i>York</i>	Lord Montacute. Henry VI. and Margaret defeated, and become fugitives.
1466. July	Henry VI. taken prisoner in Lancashire, brought to London, and impris- oned in the tower.		
1470. Oct. 3, 9	Rebellion of Warwick and Clarence. Flight of Edward IV., and restoration of Henry VI.		
1471. Apr. 14	Return of Edward IV., who lands at Ravenspur, March 14. BARNET		
		<i>York</i>	Edward IV. Warwick defeated. Death of Warwick.
May 4	TEWKESBURY	<i>York</i>	Edward IV. Queen Margaret taken prisoner, and her son, Edward, prince of Wales, murdered.
1485. Aug. 22	BOSWORTH FIELD, in Leices- tershire.	<i>Lancaster</i>	Henry, earl of Richmond, crowned on the field as HENRY VII. Death of RICHARD III., and final defeat of the White Rose.



Reverse of Great Seal of Edward IV.
Edwardus : Dei . Gracia . Rex . anglie
et : Francie : et : Dominus : Hibernie.



Reverse of Great Seal of Richard III.
Ricardus . dei . gracia . Rex . anglie
et . francie . et . Dominus . Hibernie.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HOUSE OF YORK.

EDWARD IV., EDWARD V., RICHARD III. A.D. 1461-1485.

§ 1. EDWARD IV. assumes the crown. Wars of the Roses. Battle of Towton. § 2. Battle of Hexham. Flight of Margaret and capture of Henry VI. § 3. Edward's marriage. Discontent of Warwick. § 4. Warwick flies to France and leagues himself with Margaret. § 5. Warwick invades England, expels Edward, and restores Henry. § 6. Return of Edward. Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. Death of Henry VI. § 7. Peace of Pecquigny. Execution of Clarence. Death and character of the king. § 8. Accession of EDWARD V. Violent proceedings of Richard, duke of Gloucester. § 9. Execution of Rivers, Hastings, and others. § 10. RICHARD III. Murder of Edward V. and the duke of York. § 11. Conspiracy in favour of the earl of Richmond. His invasion, and death of Buckingham. § 12. Richmond's second invasion. Battle of Bosworth and death of Richard. § 13. State of the nation under the Plantagenets. Progress of the constitution. § 14. Civil rights of individuals. Villenage. § 15. General progress of the nation.

§ 1. EDWARD IV., b. 1442; r. 1461-1483.—Supported by the citizens of London, Edward summoned a council of the lords and protested his right to the crown. Henry was formally deposed for breach of the late contract between himself and the duke of York, and Edward's claim was at once admitted. The next day he made a solemn progress through the city, and was crowned at Westminster. He had no time for repose. Queen Margaret had collected a force of 60,000 men in Yorkshire, whilst the earl of

Warwick, at the head of 49,000, hastened to check her advance, and Edward speedily followed. The hostile armies met at Towton, near Tadcaster (March 29, 1461), when a fierce and bloody battle ensued, which ended in a complete victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter; and above 36,000 men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit, of whom 28,000 were Lancastrians. For ten miles, to the very gates of York, the ground was strewed with the slain. The snow, dyed with their blood, ran down, as it melted, in crimson streams. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but, learning the defeat of their army, and sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. Edward returned to London, where a parliament was summoned to settle the government. It recognized the title of Edward, by hereditary descent through the family of Mortimer; and declared that he was king by right, from the death of his father, who also was "in his life very king in right." Henry VI., queen Margaret, and their infant son, prince Edward, besides many other persons of distinction, were attainted and their possessions forfeited. The royal family were reduced to great distress. On one occasion it is said that Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was beset during the night by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of so rich a booty raised a quarrel among them; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape with her son into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, overspent with hunger and fatigue. In this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach; and finding she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting herself to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him, and presenting to him the young prince, "Here, my friend," said she, "save the son of your king." The brigand took the child "with very good will;" and conducted the queen in safety to Sluys and thence to Bruges, where she and her son were received with honour.

§ 2. Twice did Margaret sail to France to solicit assistance. Louis XI., who had succeeded his father, Charles VII., was prevailed upon to grant her a small body of troops, on promise of the surrender of Calais if her family should by his means recover the throne of England. She invaded England in 1464; but was defeated in two battles by Lord Montacute, brother of the earl of Warwick, first at Hedgley Moor (April 25) and afterwards at

Hexham (May 15). The duke of Somerset and the lords Roos and Hungerford were taken in the pursuit, and immediately beheaded. Conveyed into Lancashire, Henry remained concealed more than a twelvermonth; but he was at last delivered up to Edward and thrown into the Tower (1466).

§ 3. Though inured to the ferocity of civil wars, Edward was, at the same time, extremely devoted to the softer passions. Jaqueline of Luxemburg, duchess of Bedford, had, after her husband's death, married sir Richard Woodville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children; and among the rest Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as well as for her accomplishments. This lady had married Sir John Grey, by whom she had children; and her husband being slain in the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate confiscated, his widow retired to live with her father at his seat of Grafton, in Northamptonshire. The king, then two and twenty, who had hitherto lived the life of a libertine, came accidentally to the house after a hunting party, and was so charmed with the beauty of the young widow that he offered to share his throne with her. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton, but was not avowed by Edward till the autumn of 1464. It gave great offence to the earl of Warwick, who had intended to strengthen the throne of Edward by a more splendid connection with France. The influence of the queen soon became apparent, as she sought to draw every grace and favour to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude those of Warwick, whom she regarded with dislike. The earl perceived with disgust that his credit was lost; and the nobility of England, envying the sudden growth of the Woodvilles, were inclined to take part with Warwick, to whose grandeur they were already accustomed. But the most considerable associate that Warwick acquired was George, duke of Clarence, the king's second brother, by offering him in marriage Isabel, his eldest daughter, co-heir of his immense fortunes (1469). Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry.

§ 4. There is no part of English history since the Conquest so obscure or disconnected, as that of the wars between the two Roses: and as they exhibit a mere struggle for power, we narrate them as briefly as possible. In 1470 Warwick and Clarence, being denounced as traitors, took refuge in France, and were well received by Louis XI. Margaret was sent from Anjou; and in spite of the injuries which Warwick had experienced at her hands, and the inveterate hatred which he bore to the house of Lancaster, an agreement was from common interest, soon concluded between

them. It was stipulated that Warwick should espouse the cause of Henry, and endeavour to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be intrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward should marry the lady Anne, second daughter of Warwick; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue of that prince, should descend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of king Edward and his posterity.

§ 5. Louis now prepared a fleet to escort the earl of Warwick, and granted him a supply of men and money. That nobleman landed at Dartmouth (September 13, 1470), with the duke of Clarence, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a small body of troops, while the king was in the north, engaged in suppressing an insurrection which had been raised by lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick. The scene which ensued resembles more a page of fiction than an event in history. The popularity of Warwick drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to 60,000 men, and was continually increasing. Edward hastened southwards to encounter him; but being deserted by the marquis of Montacute, Warwick's brother, he hurried with a small retinue to Lynn, in Norfolk, where he luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he instantly embarked (October 3). Thus the earl of Warwick, in no longer space than twenty days after his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom. He hastened to London, and, taking Henry from the Tower, proclaimed him king with great solemnity. A parliament was summoned, in the name of that prince, to meet at Westminster; and the treaty with Margaret was fully ratified (1471). Henry was recognized as lawful king; but his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was intrusted to Warwick and Clarence till the majority of prince Edward; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown.

§ 6. The duke of Burgundy had treated Edward with great coldness on his first landing in Holland, but subsequently hired for him a small squadron of ships and about 2000 men. With these the king landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire (March 14, 1471). Partisans every moment flocked to his standard: he was admitted into the city of York, and was soon in such a situation as gave him hopes of succeeding in all his claims and pretensions. Warwick assembled an army at Leicester, with the intention of meeting and giving him battle; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London, where his admittance by the citizens made him master

not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies. Edward soon found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick, who had taken post at Barnet, near London (April 14). Meanwhile his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, in fulfilment of some secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, to support the interests of his own family, deserted to the king in the night-time, and carried over a body of 12,000 men along with him. Warwick, however, was too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement, in which his army was completely routed. Contrary to his more usual practice, Warwick engaged that day on foot, resolving to show his army that he meant to share the same fortune with them. He was slain in the thickest of the engagement: his brother experienced the same fate: and, as Edward had issued orders not to give quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit. The same day on which this decisive battle was fought, queen Margaret and her son, now about 18 years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. She advanced through the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were totally defeated (May 4). Margaret and her son were taken prisoners and brought to the king, who asked the prince, after an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his present fortune, replied that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and sir Thomas Grey, taking the blow as a signal for further violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and despatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower: Henry expired there soon after the battle of Tewkesbury; but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain.* It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the duke of Gloucester killed the king with his own hands; but the universal odium which that prince has incurred inclined the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority. Henry was buried at Chertsey Abbey; but his body was removed by

* The date also is doubtful, but it was probably May 21st or 22nd.

Richard III., and laid beside his rival, Edward IV., in the new royal vault of St. George's chapel, Windsor.

§ 7. The Lancastrians were reduced to the most abject poverty. One of them, Hugh Holland, duke of Exeter, though he had married a sister of Edward IV., was seen in the Low Countries, bare-legged and bare-footed, begging from door to door. Every legitimate prince of the line was dead: and peace being restored to the nation, a parliament was summoned, which ratified, as usual, all the acts of the victor, and recognized his legal authority. Relying on the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, Edward now invaded France in 1475 with a considerable army. The expedition was popular. The supplies voted by Parliament were supplemented by loans upon the wealthy, known then and afterwards by the name of Benevolences. Disappointed in his expectations from Burgundy, Edward readily listened to the advances of Louis, who was willing to conclude a truce on terms more advantageous than honourable. He agreed to pay Edward immediately 75,000 crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay a sum of 50,000 crowns a year: it was added that the dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter. The two monarchs ratified this treaty, by which Louis saved the integrity of France, in a personal interview at Pecquigny, near Amiens.* The most honourable part of it was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret. Louis paid 50,000 crowns for her ransom; and that princess, who had been so active on the stage of the world, passed the remainder of her days in privacy, till the year 1482, when she died.

Notwithstanding the services of the duke of Clarence in deserting Warwick, he had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He had also the misfortune to displease the queen herself, as well as his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, a prince of consummate astuteness and policy. He had refused to divide with Gloucester, who had married Anne, widow of Edward, prince of Wales, stabbed at Tewkesbury, the inheritance of their father-in-law, the late earl of Warwick. The variance was increased when Clarence, now a widower, was desirous of marrying Mary, the heiress of Charles, duke of Burgundy. Some gentlemen of his household had been tried and executed for sorcery, and the duke loudly protested against the sentence. Highly offended with his freedom, the king committed the duke to the Tower, and summoned a parliament, by whom he was pronounced guilty (February 7,

* To avoid the possibility of treachery, [with a wooden grating, through which a bridge was thrown across the river, | the two kings shook hands.

1478). The manner of his death is unknown; but, according to rumour, he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey (February 18).

Instead of carrying out the treaty of Pecquigny, Louis found his advantage in contracting the dauphin to the princess Margaret, daughter of the emperor Maximilian. Edward, cruelly disappointed, prepared for revenge. But in the midst of his preparations he was seized with a distemper, and expired in the forty-first year of his age, and twenty-second of his reign (April 9, 1483). Handsome in person and affable in manners, his qualities were more showy than solid. Brave, but cruel; addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; he was less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them after they had taken place by his vigour and enterprise.

Besides five daughters, this king left two sons: Edward, prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard, duke of York, in his eleventh.

EDWARD V.

§ 8. EDWARD V., b. 1470; r. 1483.—The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales, under the care of his uncle, Anthony, earl of Rivers, the most accomplished nobleman in England.* The queen, anxious to preserve that ascendancy over her son which she had long maintained over her husband, wrote to the earl that he should levy a body of forces, in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of his enemies. The duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, whom the late king, on his death-bed, had nominated as regent, set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. Falling in with the king's escort at Stony Stratford, he caused lord Rivers and sir Richard Grey, one of the queen's sons, together with sir Thomas Vaughan, to be arrested (April 30); and the prisoners were conducted to Pontefract. Gloucester approached the young prince with the greatest demonstrations of respect, and endeavoured to satisfy him for the violence committed on his uncle and brother; but Edward, much attached to these near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not such a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeasure.

As the young king and his uncle approached London, they were met by the corporation at Hornsey. Edward's coronation was postponed till June 22, and by act of the Great Council Richard was declared protector. Apprehensive of the consequences, Elizabeth fled

* This nobleman first introduced the art of printing into England. Carton was recommended by him to the patronage of Edward IV.

into sanctuary at Westminster, attended by the marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the duke of York. But being at length persuaded by the archbishops of Canterbury and York to surrender her son into their hands, that he might join his brother, struck with a kind of presage of his future fate, she bedewed him with tears, and bade him an eternal adieu.

§ 9. Gloucester, who had hitherto concealed his designs with the most profound dissimulation, no longer hesitated at removing the obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of earl Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained in Pontefract, was first determined; and he easily obtained the consent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of lord Hastings, the two chief leaders of the party opposed to the queen, to this sanguinary measure. Orders were accordingly issued to sir Richard Ratcliffe to cut off the heads of the prisoners. The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of swaying a vicious mind, which knew no motive of action but interest and ambition, and easily obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises. He then sounded the sentiments of Hastings by means of Catesby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with him; but found him firm in his allegiance to the children of Edward. He saw, therefore, that there were no longer any measures to be kept with him; and he determined to ruin the man whom he despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpation. Accordingly he summoned a council in the Tower; whither Hastings, suspecting no design against him, repaired without hesitation. The duke of Gloucester appeared in the easiest and most gracious humour imaginable. After some familiar conversation he left the council, as if called away by other business; but soon after returning with an angry and inflamed countenance, he demanded what punishment they deserved that had plotted against the life of one who was so nearly related to the king, and was intrusted with the administration of government? Hastings replied that they merited the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others, their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft :" upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. The counsellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement. Lord Hastings, who, since Edward's death, had been engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, ventured to reply, "Certainly, my lord, if they have done so heinously, they deserve the most heinous punishment." "What!" exclaimed Richard, "dost thou bandy me with *ifs* and *ans*? I

aver they have done it ; and I will make it good on thy body, thou traitor " So saying, he struck the table with his fist. Armed men rushed in at the signal. Hastings was seized, hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a timber log intended for repairs in the Tower. Lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and other counsellors, were committed to different chambers. To carry on the farce of his accusations, Richard ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized : and he summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. Eventually he directed her to be tried in the spiritual court, for incontinence ; and she did penance in a white sheet in St. Paul's, before the people.

§ 10. These acts of violence, exercised against the nearest connections of the late king, prognosticated the fate of his defenceless children ; and, after the murder of Hastings, the protector no longer made a secret of his intentions to usurp the crown. Dr. Shaw, in a sermon at St. Paul's cross, attempted to persuade the people that Edward IV. had been previously married to Lady Butler, and that therefore Edward V. and his other children by Elizabeth Woodville were illegitimate. Various other artifices were employed to induce the people to salute Richard as king. At length Buckingham and the lord mayor proceeded with a body of prelates, nobles, and commons to his residence at Baynard's castle. He was assured that the nation was resolved to have him for their sovereign ; and, after some well-acted hesitation, he accepted the crown (June 26). The farce was soon after followed by the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death ; but this gentleman, to his honour, refused such an infamous office. The tyrant then sent for sir James Tyrrel, who promised obedience ; and he ordered Brakenbury to resign to Tyrrel the keys and government of the Tower for one night. Choosing associates, Dighton and Forest, Tyrrel came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged ; and sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission, while he himself stayed without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones.*

* This story has been questioned by Walpole in his *Historic Doubts*, and subsequently by other writers ; but, on the whole, the balance of probability greatly preponderates in its favour. In 1874, during some repairs, the bones of

two youths were discovered under a staircase in the White Tower, and were interred in Westminster Abbey by order of Charles II. as those of Edward V. and his brother.

§ 11. RICHARD III., *b.* 1450; *r.* 1483–1485.—The first acts of Richard's administration were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in gaining the crown, and to conciliate by favours those who were best able to support his government. He loaded the duke of Buckingham especially, who was allied to the royal family, with grants and honours. But it was impossible that friendship could long remain inviolate between the two. Soon after Richard's accession, the duke, disappointed, or delayed, in some requests he had made, began to form a conspiracy against the government, and attempted to overthrow that usurpation which he himself had so zealously contributed to establish. Morton, bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, whom the king had committed to the duke's custody, encouraged these sentiments. By his exhortations the duke turned his thoughts towards the young earl of Richmond, as the only person who could free the nation from the present usurper. On his mother's side he was descended from John of Gaunt by Katharine Swynford, a branch legitimated by parliament (1397), but excluded from the succession by Henry IV. (1407). On his father's side he was grandson of Owen Tudor and Katharine of France, relict of Henry V.*

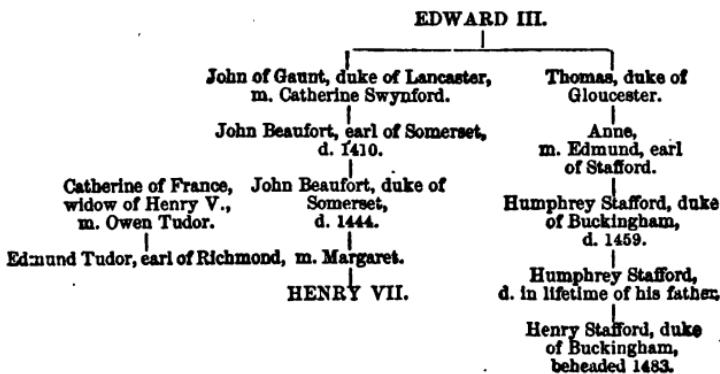
The universal detestation of Richard's conduct after the death of the two young princes turned the attention of the nation towards Henry, from whom only it could expect deliverance. It was therefore suggested by Morton, and readily assented to by the duke, that, to overturn the present usurpation, the opposite factions should be united by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward. Margaret, Richmond's mother, assented to the plan without hesitation; whilst on the part of the queen dowager, the desire of revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and indignation against her confinement, easily overcame all her prejudices against the house of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation, of the parties seemed so naturally to invite them. She secretly borrowed a sum of money in the city, sent it over to the earl of Richmond, who was at present detained in Brittany in a kind of honourable custody, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as soon as he should arrive in England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him on his first appearance, with all the friends and partisans of her family. The plan was secretly communicated to the principal persons of

* For the genealogy of Henry of Richmond and the duke of Buckingham, see the Genealogical Tables.

both parties in all the counties of England ; and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success and completion. The duke of Buckingham took up arms in Wales, and gave the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection in all parts of England. But heavy rains having rendered the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, impassable, the Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him ; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Banaster, an old servant of his family. Tempted by the reward, Banaster betrayed his retreat. He was brought to the king at Salisbury, and was instantly executed, according to the summary method practised in that age (November 2, 1483). The other conspirators immediately dispersed. The earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had set sail from St. Malo, with a body of 5000 men levied in foreign parts ; but, as his fleet was at first driven back by a storm, he did not appear in England till after the dispersion of his friends, and he found himself obliged to return to Brittany.

The king, everywhere triumphant, ventured at last to summon a parliament, which had no choice left but to recognize his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. To reconcile the nation to his government, Richard passed some popular laws, particularly against Benevolences ; but he soon after resorted to the same practice. His consort Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward, prince of Wales, having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune. It is said that, in anticipation of her death, he proposed, by means of a papal

Genealogy of Henry of Richmond and of the duke of Buckingham :—



See the Genealogical Table of the House of Lancaster.

dispensation, to espouse the princess Elizabeth, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles.

§ 12. Exhort ed by his partisans to prevent this marriage by a new invasion, and having received assistance from the court of France, Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy, with a small army of about 2000 men. After a voyage of six days he arrived at Milford Haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition (August 7, 1485). The earl, advancing towards Shrewsbury, received every day fresh reinforcements from his partisans.

The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester; Henry at the head of 6000 men, Richard with an army nearly double the number. Before the battle began, lord Stanley, who, without declaring himself, had raised an army of 7000 men and had so posted himself as to be able to join either party, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eyes around the field, and, descrying his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death, or his own, would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl: he dismounted sir John Cheyney: he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied enormities (August 22, 1485). The naked body of Richard was thrown carelessly across a horse, carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators, and interred in the Grey Friars' church of that place.

The historians who lived in the subsequent reign have probably exaggerated the vices of the monarch whom their master overthrew; and some modern writers have attempted to palliate the crimes by which he procured possession of the crown. It is certain that he possessed energy, courage, and capacity; but these qualities would never have compensated his subjects for the usurpation and the vices of which he was guilty. Inured to scenes of bloodshed from his childhood, and all the horrors of a civil war, it was inevitable that his courage should be stained with cruelty, and that danger should have taught him dissimulation. His personal appearance has even been a subject of warm controversy: while some represent him as small of stature and humpbacked, others maintain that his only defect was in having one shoulder a little higher than the other.

§ 13. The reign of the house of Plantagenet expired with Richard III. on Bosworth field. In a limited monarchy, change of a dynasty is generally accompanied by some revolution in the state. The reigns of Henry VII., and of his successors of the house of Tudor, bear a character distinct from those of the Plantagenet princes. The exhaustion of the kingdom through the protracted Wars of the Roses, and the almost entire annihilation of the greater English nobility, enabled the Tudors to rule with a despotic power unknown to their predecessors.

The period of the Plantagenets forms an important and interesting epoch in English history. Its leading feature is the gradual development of the English constitution. The first ostensible act in the process is the Great Charter wrung from John. In the subsequent reigns Magna Carta was repeatedly confirmed. The weak and long reign of Henry III., and the necessities of Edward I., served to foster the infancy of English freedom, whilst the establishment of the commons as a permanent estate of the great council of the nation forms, in a constitutional point of view, the chief glory of this era of history.

§ 14. From the constitution we naturally turn our view to those who were its subjects. As early at least as the reign of Henry III., the legal equality of all freemen below the rank of the peerage appears to have been completely established. The civil rights of individuals were protected by that venerable body of ancient customs, which, under the name of the common law, still obtains in our courts of justice. Its origin is lost in the obscurity of remote antiquity. A very small portion of it may be traced to the Anglo-Saxon times; but the greater part must have sprung up after the Conquest, since we find the pecuniary penalties which marked the Anglo-Saxon legislation exchanged in criminal cases for capital punishment.

It is difficult to trace the steps by which villenage was gradually mitigated under the Plantagenets; but on the whole it is certain that at the termination of their dynasty it was rapidly falling into disuse. Tenants in villenage were gradually transformed into copyholders. Villeins bound to personal service escaped to distant parts of the country, where they could not easily be traced and reclaimed, and entered into free and voluntary service under a new master. Others hid themselves in towns, where a residence of a twelvemonth made them free by law, though they were not admitted to municipal privileges. Something must also be attributed to manumission. The influence of the church was exerted on behalf of this degraded class; and the repentant lord was exhorted by his spiritual adviser to give freedom to his fellow Christians. As public opinion became more enlightened and humane, the courts

of law leaned to the side of the oppressed peasantry in all suits in which their rights were concerned. The statutes framed for the regulation of wages, and the popular insurrection in the time of Richard II., betray an advance in the condition of the lower classes ; and, though they attest a large amount of villainage, they discover at the same time a greater extension of freedom.

§ 15. With regard to the general progress of the nation, we perceive under the sway of the Plantagenets a notable increase in its wealth and intelligence, as well as in its freedom. The woollen manufactures were established in various parts of England, and began to supply foreign nations. In the reign of Edward III. the English were remarkable for their excellence in the arts of peace as well as of war. A rich literature, adorned with the names of Chaucer and Gower, of Wickliffe and Mandeville, was now destined to exercise a better influence, by the invention of printing, introduced into England in the reign of Edward IV.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENT.

The word *Parliament* (*parlement* or *colloquium* as some of our historians translate it) is derived from the French, and signifies any assembly that meets and confers together. It appears on the Close Rolls of 1244, as applied to the meeting of king John and the barons at Runnymede. The constituent parts of parliament in its more restricted sense are now, and were under the later Plantagenet kings, the sovereign and the three estates of the realm, the lords spiritual, the lords temporal (who sit, together with their sovereign, in one house), and the commons, who sit by themselves in another. The parliament, as so constituted, is an outgrowth of the Great Council of the realm, held under the Anglo-Norman kings, the constitution of which has been already explained (p. 129). It will be convenient to trace separately the history of each house.

I. THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—The spiritual peerage consisted originally of archbishops, bishops, and abbots ; and the lay peerage only of barons and earls, but every earl was also a baron. For more than two centuries after the Norman conquest the only baronies known were baronies *by tenure*, being

incident to the tenure of land held immediately under the crown. Hence the right of peerage was originally territorial, being annexed to certain lands, and, when they were alienated, passing with them as an appendant. Thus in 1433 the possession of the castle of Arundel was adjudged to confer an earldom "by tenure" on its possessor.

Afterwards, when the alienations of land became frequent, and the number of those who held of the king *in capite* increased, it became the practice, either in the reign of John or Henry III., for the king to summon to the Great Council, by *Writ*, all such persons as he thought fit so to summon. In this way the dignity of the peerage became personal instead of territorial. Proof of a tenure by barony became no longer necessary, and the record of the writ of summons came to be sufficient evidence to constitute a peer.

The third mode of creating peers is by *Letters Patent* from the crown, in which the descent of the dignity is regulated, being usually confined to heirs male. The first peer created by patent was lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster, in the reign of Richard II. (1387). It is still occasionally the practice to call up the eldest son of a peer to the House of Lords by writ of summons in the name of his father's barony ; but, with this

exception, peers are now always created by letters patent.

The first instance in which earls and barons are called peers is in 14 Edw. II. (1321), in the award of exile against the Despensers.

The degrees of nobility are dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons. 1. The title of *Duke* or *Dux* was used among the Anglo-Saxons as a title of dignity; but as William the Conqueror and his successors were dukes of Normandy, they would not honour any subject with the title till the reign of Edward III., who, claiming to be king of France, created his eldest son Edward, the Black Prince, duke of Cornwall (1337). Several of the royal family subsequently received the title of duke. 2. The title of *Marquess* or *marchio* was originally applied to a Lord Marcher, or lord of the frontier districts, called the marches, from the Teutonic word *marka*, a limit; but it was first created a parliamentary dignity by Richard II., who made Robert de Vere marquess of Dublin (1386). 3. An *Earl* corresponded to the Saxon ealdorman or alderman, who originally had the administration of a shire. Under the Norman kings the title became merely personal, though the earl continued to receive a third penny of the emoluments arising from the pleas in the county courts. In Latin the earl was called *Comes*, and after the Norman conquest *Count*, whence the name *county* is still applied to the shires; but the title of count never superseded the more ancient designation of earl, and soon fell into disuse. The title of earl continued to be the highest hereditary dignity till the reign of Edward III. 4. The dignity of *Viscount* or *Vice-Comes* was borrowed from France, and was first conferred in 1440 by Henry VI., who had been crowned king of France. 5. The title of *Baron* has been already explained. (See p. 126.)

II. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The members of the House of Commons consist of the knights of the shires, and the burgesses, or representatives of the cities, universities, and boroughs. The origin of the knights of the shires is traced to the fourteenth clause in the charter of John, by which the sheriff was bound to summon to the Great Council all the (inferior) tenants in chief. The principle of representation introduced by Simon de Montfort in the 49th of Henry III. (1265)

has been already explained (p. 148). From this time till the 23rd of Edward I. (1295) the representatives of the cities and boroughs were occasionally summoned; but they were not permanently engrafted upon parliament till the latter date, when the expenses of Edward, arising from his foreign wars, led him to have recourse to this means for obtaining supplies of money. This is the true date of the House of Commons (Stubbs, p. 402). The success of the experiment insured its repetition; and the king found that he could more readily obtain larger sums of money by the subsidies of the citizens and burgesses than he had previously obtained by tallages upon their towns. It must be recollect that the only object of summoning the citizens and burgesses was to obtain money, and that it was not originally intended to give them the power of consenting to the laws. And often after this period the upper house continued to sit and pass laws, when the commons had retired. But gradually the power of the purse procured them a share in legislation.

At first both houses sat in the same chamber; but from the earliest times they voted separately, and imposed separate taxes, each upon its own order. The knights of the shires voted at first with the earls and barons; but in the latter years of Edward III. the houses deliberated apart, and were divided as we now find them.

In the feeble reign of Edward II. the commons were not slow in advancing their rights; and the rolls of parliament show that on one occasion, at least, they granted supplies on condition that the king should redress the grievances of which they complained. Gradually the assent of the commons came to be considered necessary for the enactment of laws; and in the long and prosperous reign of Edward III. the three essential principles of our government were generally established: (1) The consent of parliament to all extraordinary aids and taxes; (2) the concurrence of the two houses in all matters affecting the realm; (3) the right of the commons to inquire into public abuses, and to impeach public counsellors. With regard to the second constitutional principle mentioned above, we find in 15 Edward II. that "matters to be established for the estate of the king and his heirs, and for the

estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established, in parliament by the king, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as has been before accustomed." It was the practice that the petitions of the commons, with the respective answers made to them in the king's name, should be drawn up after the end of the session in the form of laws, and entered upon the statute-roll. Still it must be observed that the statutes do not always express the true sense of the commons, as their petitions were frequently modified and otherwise altered by the king's answers. The first instance in which the commons exercised the third constitutional principle alluded to was in 50 Edward III., when, instigated by the Black Prince, they impeached lord Latimer and other ministers of the king.

Under the reign of Richard II. the power of the House of Commons made still further progress, which was continued under the three kings of the house of Lancaster, who owed their throne to a parliamentary title. Among the rights established under these kings the two following were the most important: 1. The introduction, in the reign of Henry VI., of complete statutes under the name of bills, instead of the old petitions, to which the king gave his consent, and which he was not at liberty to alter, as he had done in the case of petitions. It now became the practice for either house to originate a bill, except in the case of money bills, which continued to be originated exclusively by the commons. 2. That the king ought not to take notice of matters pending in parliament, and that the commons should enjoy liberty of speech.

The persons who had the right of voting for knights of the shire were declared by 8 Hen. VI. c. 7, to be all freeholders of lands and tenements of the annual value of 40*s.*, equivalent at least to 30*l.* of our value; which was a limitation of the number of voters, since it would appear from 7 Hen. IV. c. 15, that all persons whatever, present at the county court, had previously the right of voting for the knights of their shires. For further particulars as to the House of Lords, see sir Harris Nicolas, *The Historic Peerage of England*, Introduction, in the edit. of 1857; and as to the House of Commons, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. c. 8.

B. AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD OF THE PLANTAGENETS FROM JOHN TO RICHARD III.

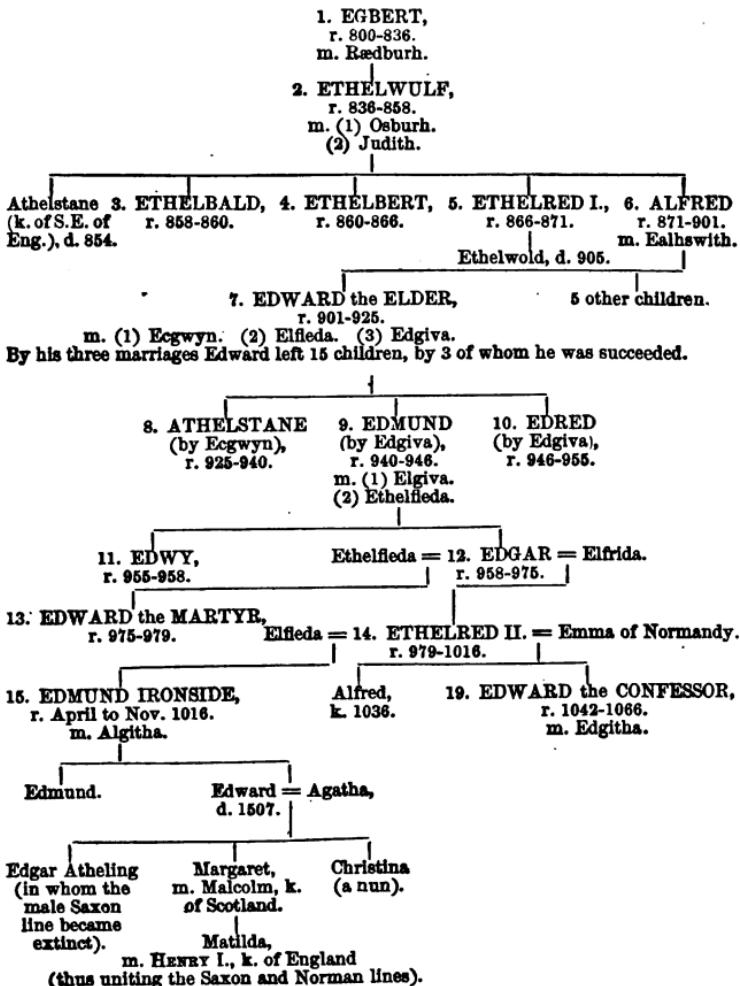
A reference to Note C, appended to chapter vii. (pp. 129, 130), will show what histories already mentioned extend into this period. In addition may be named the *Annals of Dunstable* to 1297 (Rolls); Walter of Hemingford, *Lives of Edward I., II., III.*; John Trokelowe, *Annales Edwardi II.*, with a continuation by Henry Blaneford (Rolls); Robert of Avesbury, *Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi III.*; the Monk of Evesham, *Hist. Vita et Regni Ricardi II.*; Otterbourne's *Chronicle*, from Brute to 1420; Whethamstede's *Chronicle*, 1441 to 1460 (Rolls); Elmham, *Vita et Gesta Henrici V.* (Rolls); Titus Livius, *idem.*; William of Worcester, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*, 1324 to 1491; Roua, *Historia Regum Angliae* (to 1485). The preceding works are published in Hearne's collection. The following are in the collection of Hall: Nicholas Trivet, *Annales seu regum Angliae*, 1135 to 1318; Adam Murimuth, *Chronicle* (with continuation), 1303 to 1380. The *Chronicle of Lanercost*, published by the Bannatyne Club, extends from 1201 to 1346. Joan Amundesham, 1423-1440 (Rolls). The following are in Camden's *Anglica*, &c.: Thos. de la More, *De Vita et Morte Edwardi II.*; Walsingham, *Historia brevis Angliae*, 1272 to 1422: the same author's *Hypodigma Neustriae*, containing an account of the affairs of Normandy to Henry V. (Rolls), is also in Camden. Froissart's *Chroniques* (translated by Lord Berners) is an interesting but not very trustworthy work for the times of Edward III. and Richard II. *Chron. Angliae*, 1328-1388 (Rolls). The *Chroniques de Monstrelet* (1400 to 1457) and the *Mémoires* of Philip de Comines (1461 to 1498) may also be consulted for foreign affairs during the later Plantagenets.

The early printed chronicles which treat of this period, with the exception of Fabian's (to 1509) and Hardynge's (to 1538), are not contemporary. The principal are those of Hall, Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe. Sir Thos. More's *History of Richard III.* is the best authority for that period: he was old enough to have heard the facts from contemporaries, and especially from bishop Morton, in whose service he had lived.

A.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF Cerdic.

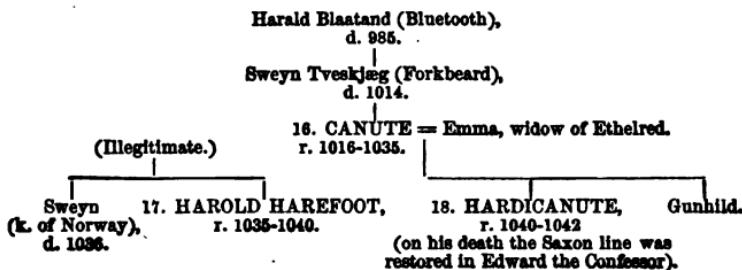
* * The numbers mark the succession of the kings before the Conquest.

CERDIC, the ancestor of the kings of England of the Saxon line, founded the kingdom of Wessex A.D. 519. Cerdic died in 534; and from him Egbert, the first king of England, is descended as follows:—1. Cynric, king of Wessex (r. 534-560). 2. Ceawlin, king of Wessex (r. 560-591). 3. Cuthwine. 4. Cutha. 5. Ceolwulf. 6. Cenred. 7. Ingild. 8. Eoppa. 9. Eafa. 10. Ealhmund, king of Kent, whose son Egbert was elected to succeed Brihteric in the kingdom of Wessex A.D. 800. The line then proceeds as follows:—



B.—GENEALOGY OF THE ANGLO-DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND.

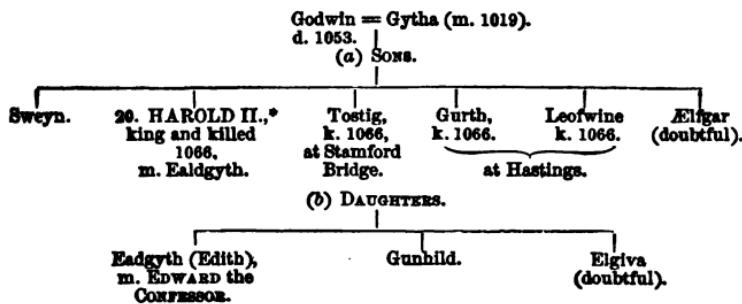
* * * *The numbers mark the succession of the kings before the Conquest.*



C.—FAMILY OF EARL GODWIN.

(See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. ii., App. F., p. 552.)

* * * *The number (20) belongs to the succession of the kings before the Conquest.*



* For the children of Harold, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. iii., App. R., p. 754.

D.—THE NORMAN LINE.

Rolf or Rollo the Ganger, duke of the Normans,
911-927.

William Longsword (Longue-épée),
927-943.

Richard I. the Fearless (Sans-peur),
943-996.

Richard II. the Good (le Bon),
996-1026.

Emma.
m. (1) Ethelred.
(2) Canute.

Richard III.,
1026-1028.

Robert I. the Magnificent or the Devil,
1028-1035.

WILLIAM I. the Conqueror
(by Arlette),
b. 1027; d. Sept. 7, 1087.
m. Matilda, d. of Baldwin,
count of Flanders.

Robert II.,
duke of
Normandy,
d. 1134.

Richard,
d. young.

WILLIAM II.
(Rufus),
d. Aug. 2,
1100.

HENRY I.,
d. Dec. 1, 1135.
m. (1) Matilda of Scotland;
(2) Adeliza of Louvain
(by whom, no children).

6 daughters.
Of whom Adela,
the fourth, m.
Stephen, count
of Blois.

William,
d. 1128.

William,
d. 1120.
m. Matilda, d. of
Fulk of Anjou.

Matilda,
m. (1) Henry V. (by a concubine),
of Germany.
(2) Geoffrey of Anjou,
d. 1167.

Robert
d. 1147.

Several other
illegitimate
children.

STEPHEN,
d. 1154.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.

PART I.—FROM HENRY II. TO EDWARD I.

<p>MATILDA, daughter of Henry I. and Matilda of Scotland, who was the daughter of Margaret, who was the daughter of Edward the Confessor, the younger son of Edmund Ironside, — widow of the emperor HENRY V. b. 1152; acc. 1154; d. 1158.</p>	<p>EDWARD PLANTAGENET, count of Anjou, d. 1151.</p>	<p>HENRY II., b. 1155; acc. 1154; d. 1189.</p>	<p>Eleanor, countess of Poitou and Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII., king of France.</p>
<p>William, Henry,* b. 1152; d. 1158;</p>	<p>RICHARD I., b. 1157; acc. 1159; d. 1199.</p>	<p>Geoffrey, b. 1158; d. 1186.</p>	<p>JOHN, b. 1167; acc. 1189; d. 1216.</p>
<p>m. Margaret of France.</p>	<p>m. Berengaria of Navarre (no issue).</p>	<p>m. Constance of Brittany.</p>	<p>Eleanor m. Alfonso of Castile.</p>
			<p>Eleanor, m. Henry of Savoy.</p>
			<p>Maud, m. Henry of Blois.</p>
			<p>John, m. William of Sicily.</p>
			<p>Isabella, m. Philip of France.</p>
			<p>John, m. Alexander II. of Scotland.</p>
			<p>Eleanor, m. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, k. at Evesham, 1265.</p>
			<p>Guy.</p>
<p>ARTHUR, d. of Brittany, supposed to have been put to death by King John.</p>	<p>EDWARD PLANTAGENET, b. 1189; acc. 1195; d. 1207.</p>	<p>HENRY III., b. 1207; acc. 1216; m. Eleanor of Provence.</p>	<p>Richard, b. 1207; acc. 1216; m. Isabella of Cornwall, k. of the Romans, d. 1272.</p>
			<p>ALEXANDER III., of Scotland.</p>
			<p>Henry, edmund, earl of Cornwall.</p>
			<p>John, m. Margaret, d. of Henry III., d. 1297.</p>
			<p>Henry,</p>
			<p>Edmund, m. John de Dreux, duke of Brittany.</p>
			<p>Simon.</p>
			<p>Guy.</p>
<p>EDWARD I., b. 1239; acc. 1272; d. 1307.</p>	<p>EDWARD I., b. 1239; acc. 1272; d. 1307.</p>	<p>Margaret, m. ALEXANDER III., earl of Scotland.</p>	<p>EDWARD I., b. 1239; acc. 1272; d. 1307.</p>
<p>m. (1) Eleanor of Lancasther, d. 1290.</p>	<p>m. (1) Eleanor of Lancasther, d. 1290.</p>	<p>m. John de Dreux, duke of Brittany.</p>	<p>m. (1) Eleanor of Lancasther, d. 1290.</p>
<p>(2) Margaret of France, m. 1299; d. 1317.</p>	<p>(2) Margaret of France, m. 1299; d. 1317.</p>	<p>(Four other sons.)</p>	<p>(Four other sons.)</p>

Margaret, the Maid of Norway, d. Oct. 7, 1290
(giving occasion to the dispute for the Scottish crown).

* Twice crowned in his father's lifetime, and sometimes styled HENRY III.

F.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.

PART II.—DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD I. AND HIS BROTHER EDMUND CROUCHBACK.

EDWARD I. b. 1239; scc. 1272; d. 1307.	= Margaret, daughter of Philip the Hardy, k. of France, d. 1217.	EDWARD CROUCHBACK, earl of Lancast., m. (1) Aveline of Albemarle, d. 1274.	EDWARD CROUCHBACK, earl of Lancast., (2) Blanche, grand daughter of Louis VIII., and widow of Henry I., of Navarre.
Four sons, who died young.— (1) John, d. 1271. (2) Henry, d. 1274. (3) Alfonso, d. 1284. (4) Name uncertain. And 9 daughters.	(6) EDWARD II. b. 1284; scc. 1307; d. 1327. m. Isabella of France.	Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, b. 1300; d. 1388;	Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, b. 1301; d. executed 1330 by Edward III. (Two sons.)
John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall, b. 1312; d. 1338.	Eleanor b. 1318; d. 1356. m. Reynald II., count of Gueldres.	Joan, b. m. David II., of Scotland.	Joan of Kent = (1) William, earl of Salisbury (mar- riage dissolved). (2) Sir Thomas Holland : Issue 3 sons : Earl of Kent, i. Earl of Hunting- don and duke of Exeter.
EDWARD III., b. 1312; scc. 1327; d. 1377. m. Philippa of Hainault.	John of Gaunt, earl of Lancaster, b. 1340; d. 1399. m. Joan of Kent.	Edmund of Langley, duke of York, b. 1341; d. 1402. Ancestor of House of York in the male line (Table H.).	Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, b. 1352; d. 1397. Ancestor of the Shafords of Buckingham. (Table G.).
EDWARD, p. of Wales (the Black Prince), b. 1330; d. 1376. m. Joan of Kent.	Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence, b. 1338; d. 1388. Ancestor of House of York in the female line (Table H.).	John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, and by marriage duke of Lancaster, b. 1340; d. 1399. Ancestor of Houses of Lancaster and Tudor (Table G.).	William of Windsor, and his daughters, m. (1) Lord Stafford, Conwy, earl of Bedford, (2) John, d. 1348 (betrothed to the king of Castile), (3) Blanche, died in infancy, (4) Mary = John de Montfort (inf.), John IV. of Brittany), (5) Margaret = John Hastings, i. Earl of Pembroke, (Table G.).
Richard II., b. 1367; scc. 1377; d. 1399; dep. 1400.	RICHARD II., b. 1367; scc. 1377; d. 1399; dep. 1400.	Richard II., b. 1367; scc. 1377; d. 1399; dep. 1400.	Matilda, m. (1) Lord Stafford, (2) William V., count of Holland.
Edward of Angouleme, b. d. 1371.	m. (1) Anne of B Bohemia, (2) Isabella of France. <i>Last of the Plantagenet projector.</i>		Blanche, d. 1399. co-heiress of Lan- caster, m. JOHN OF GAUNT, who thus became duke of Lancaster, etc.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

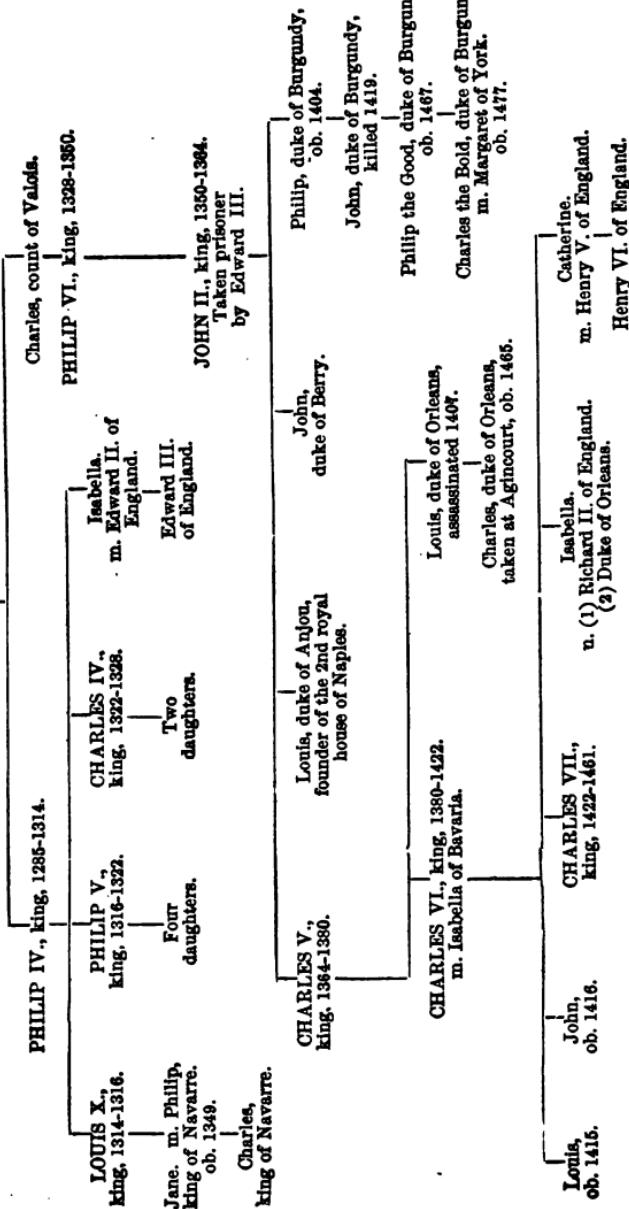
DESCENDANTS OF JOHN OF GAUNT.—ALSO THE DESCENDANTS OF THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK

I.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE

FROM PHILIP III. TO CHARLES VII.

(In Illustration of the Wars between England and France.)

PHILIP III., King, 1270-1285.



**TABLE
OF THE
PRINCIPAL CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN SOVEREIGNS
FROM THE PERIOD OF THE CONQUEST.**

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN

The Years show the com-

ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.
William I. 1066	Malcolm II. 1067	Philip I. 1060
William II. 1087	Donald VI. 1093	
	Duncan II. 1094	
Henry I. 1100	Donald VI. restored 1095	
	Edgar 1098	
	Alexander I. 1107	Louis VI. 1108
Stephen 1135	David I. 1124	Louis VII. 1137
Henry II. 1154	Malcolm IV. 1153	
	William the Lion ... 1165	Philip II. 1186
Richard I. 1189		
John 1199		
Henry III. 1216	Alexander II. ... 1214	Louis VIII. 1223
		St. Louis IX. 1226
	Alexander III. ... 1249	
Edward I. 1272		Philip III. 1270
		Philip IV. 1285
	Margaret 1286	
	died 1290	
	John Balliol 1292	
	Interregnum 1296	
Edward II. 1307	Robert I. (Bruce) ... 1306	
		Louis X. 1314
		John I. 1316
		Philip V. 1316
Edward III. 1327	David II. (Bruce) ... 1329	Charles IV. 1322
		Philip VI. 1328
Richard II. 1377	Robert II. (Stuart) 1371	John II. 1350
Henry IV. 1399	Robert III. 1390	Charles V. 1364
Henry V. 1413	James I. 1406	Charles VI. 1389
Henry VI. 1422	James II. 1437	
Edward IV. 1461	James III. 1460	Charles VII. 1422
Edward V. 1483		
Richard III. 1483		Louis XI. 1461
		Charles VIII. 1483

SOVEREIGNS FROM THE PERIOD OF THE CONQUEST.

commencement of their Reigns.

GERMANY AND EMPERORS.	SPAIN.	POPES.
Henry IV. ... 1056	LEON AND CASTILE.	Alexander II. ... 1061
	Sancho II. ... 1065	Gregory VII. ... 1073
	Alfonso VI. (Leon) 1073	Victor III. ... 1086
	Alfonso VII. ... 1109	Urban II. ... 1088
	Alfonso VIII. ... 1126	Pascal II. ... 1099
	Sancho III. ... 1157	Gelasius II. ... 1118
Henry V. ... 1106	Alfonso IX. (Leon) 1158	Calixtus II. ... 1119
Lothaire II. ... 1125	Henry I. ... 1214	Honorius II. ... 1124
Conrad III. (of Hohenstaufen) ... 1138	Ferdinand III. ... 1217 (Unites Leon and Castile, 1230.)	Innocent II. ... 1130
Frederick I. (Barbarossa) ... 1152	Alfonso X. ... 1252	Celestine II. ... 1143
Henry VI. ... 1190	Sancho IV. ... 1284	Lucius II. ... 1144
Philip ... 1198	Ferdinand IV. ... 1295	Eugenius III. ... 1145
{Otho IV. ... 1198	Alfonso XI. ... 1312	Anastasius IV. ... 1153
Otho IV. (alone) ... 1208	Peter the Cruel ... 1350	Adrian IV. ... 1154
Frederick II. ... 1212	Henry II. ... 1368	Alexander III. ... 1159
Conrad IV. ... 1250	John I. ... 1379	Lucius III. ... 1181
{William ... 1250	Henry III. ... 1390	Urban III. ... 1185
Interregnum ... 1254	John II. ... 1406	Gregory VIII. ... 1187
Richard of Cornwall 1257	Henry IV. ... 1454	Clement III. ... 1187
{Alfonso de Castile 1257	Isabella I. ... 1474	Celestine III. ... 1191
Eudoif I. (of Hapsburg) ... 1273	(See below, under Aragon. On her death Castile only nominally separate.)	Innocent III. ... 1198
	Joanna(d. of Isabella) with her husband ... 1504	Honorius III. ... 1216
	Philip I. (of Austria) The Crowns of Spain reunited by	Gregory IX. ... 1227
	Ferdinand V. ... 1512	Celestine IV. ... 1241
	ARRAGON.	Innocent IV. ... 1243
Interregnum ... 1291	Sancho Ramirez ... 1063	Alexander IV. ... 1254
Adolphus of Nassau 1292	Peter of Navarre ... 1094	Urban IV. ... 1261
Albert I. (of Austria) 1298	Alfonso I. ... 1104	Clement IV. ... 1265
Henry VII. ... 1308	Ramiro II. ... 1134	Gregory X. ... 1271
Interregnum ... 1313	Petronilla and Raymond ... 1137	Innocent V. ... 1276
Louis IV. (of Bavaria) 1314	Alfonso II. ... 1162	Adrian V. ... 1276
Frederick of Austria 1314	Sancho VII. ... 1194	John XXI. ... 1276
Louis IV. (alone) ... 1320	Peter II. ... 1196	Nicholas III. ... 1277
Charles IV. ... 1347	James I. ... 1213	Martin IV. ... 1281
Wenceslaus ... 1378	Peter III. ... 1276	Honorius IV. ... 1285
Robert, or Rupert ... 1400	Alfonso III. ... 1285	Nicholas IV. ... 1288
Sigismund ... 1410	James II. ... 1291	Celestine V. ... 1294
Albert II. ... 1438	Alfonso IV. ... 1327	Boniface VIII. ... 1294
Frederick III. ... 1440	Peter IV. ... 1336	Benedict XI. ... 1303
	John I. ... 1387	Clement V. ... 1305
	Martin I. ... 1395	John XXII. ... 1316
	Ferdinand of Sicily 1412	Benedict XII. ... 1334
	Alfonso V. ... 1416	Clement VI. ... 1342
	John II. ... 1458	Innocent VI. ... 1352
	Ferdinand II. ... 1479	Urban V. ... 1362
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	Ferdinand ... 1512	Urban VI. ... 1378
		Boniface IX. ... 1389
		Benedict XIII. ... 1394
		Innocent VII. ... 1404
		Gregory XII. ... 1406-1415
		Alexander V. ... 1409
		John XXIII. ... 1410-1415
		Martin V. ... 1417
		Eugenius IV. ... 1431
		Nicholas V. ... 1447
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